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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1134



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INTERNATIONAL

VOROTNIKOV ON ECONOMIC PLAN, RELATIONS WITH U.S., CUBA

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 14 Feb 81 p 5

[Interview with Vitaliy I. Vorotnikov, Soviet ambassador to Cuba, by Gustavo Ulacis]

[Text] We are only a few days away from the opening in Moscow, on 23 February, of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. History has demonstrated that each congress has cleared new paths and served as a point of departure for further brilliant accomplishments that daily bring Lenin's homeland closer to humanity's bright future: communism.

On the occasion of this very important event, GRANMA interviewed Vitaliy I. Vorotnikov, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR's ambassador to Cuba.

[Question] During the 5-year period that has just ended, the USSR had many notable economic, political and social successes. Could you tell us about the principal Soviet achievements during recent years?

[Answer] The character and entire rhythm of social life in our country at this time is governed by preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress, which will begin on 23 February 1981 in the Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin in Moscow. It will review the last 5-year period and will draw up the latest plans for the economic and social development of the USSR.

In the history of the construction of communism, the recently ended 5-year period will occupy a worthy place. It demonstrated convincingly that the economic strategy developed at the 24th and 25th party congresses was correct.

In comparison with the ninth 5-year period, during these years the national income rose by 400 billion rubles, industrial production rose by 717 billion rubles, and agricultural production increased by 50 billion rubles. Four-fifths of the national income was used directly to benefit the people (for the construction of housing and social and cultural works as well as for other purposes serving the welfare of the people).

Expenditures for the national economy accounted for 635 billion rubles, which made it possible to increase basic funds 1.4 times and to build over 200 major industrial

enterprises. A new industrial complex started up nearly every working day of the 5-year period.

The industrial sectors which determine technical progress in the national economy developed more rapidly. Production of consumer goods rose 21 percent. The supply of them expanded and their quality improved.

The measures taken to strengthen the technical and physical base in agriculture are impressive. Expenditures in this sector exceeded 170 billion rubles; that is, over 27 percent of the total amount. The energy supply for agriculture work rose 1.4 times. Irrigation and drainage were developed on a large scale. Concentration and specialization in agricultural production and agroindustrial integration became more extensive and varied.

All that bore fruit. For the first time, during the 10th 5-year period, the grain crop averaged over 200 million tons per year. Production of meat, milk, eggs, cotton, etc., rose.

Because of scientific/technical progress and improved management, improved efficiency in production was achieved during the 10th 5-year period. Labor productivity increased 17 percent, insuring 75 percent of increased industrial production, all agricultural expansion and 90 percent of the increase in construction and installation of machinery.

The economy of the USSR daily produces a social product having a value over 2.8 billion rubles; that is, 13.1 times more than in 1940 and twice that in 1965. We have now reached economic power of such magnitude that we were able to simultaneously construct such giant industrial projects as the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric plant, KamAZ, and Atommash, create and develop dozens of regional and industrial complexes, construct the BAM, make major outlays in the region of nonfertile land in the RSFSR, and carry out modernization in thousands of plants, and, along with that, not only reduce but, on the contrary, increase social programs intended to improve the life of the people. Such possibilities, such scope for the Soviet economy, were not known formerly.

The party has placed raising of the people's standard of living at the center of practical work in the economic sector. This very humanistic approach provides good results in all spheres of the social development of a mature socialist society. During the 5-year period, 329 billion rubles more than during the ninth 5-year period was allotted from the national income for improvement of the people's standard of living. Real income per capita rose 17 percent. The average wage for blue- and white-collar workers rose by over 15 percent, and kolkhozniks' income from collective farming rose by 26 percent. Funds for social programs, which guarantee the solid economic basis for fulfillment of the Soviet people's constitutional right to free education and medical attention, to rest and old-age benefits, reached some 527 billion rubles.

There was large-scale construction of homes. For this purpose, 87.2 billion rubles were spent, 1.5 billion more than expected. Today, nearly 80 percent of the urban population lives in individual apartments.

Further progress has been made in the sphere of science, education, culture, public health, physical education and sports. It is enough to recall the triumphant space flights, which are increasingly longer and involve more complicated tasks. We are pleased to mention again the success of the first joint Cuban-Soviet space flight by those brothers-in-space, communists Yuriy Romanenko and Arnaldo Tamayo Mendez. Its significance has gone beyond the limits of science and technology: It has become an important political event in the life of our countries and of all progressive humanity.

We can also recall the results of the 22d summer Olympic Games, held in Moscow in 1980, which again demonstrated enormous possibilities for the multifaceted development of the man who is creating socialism. They also confirmed the indestructibility of the Olympic movement and its important role in the strengthening of peace and friendship among the peoples.

When analyzing the results of the 10th 5-year period, the CPSU Central Committee acknowledges the work carried out to the extent merited. At the same time, it is pointing out problems as well as deficiencies.

The fulfillment of some economic and social tasks has been hampered by the exhaustion of many old mineral deposits, including some very important ones, and by the transfer of the principal centers of mining activity to scarcely accessible regions, to the east and to the north. Agriculture and the sectors depending on raw materials from it have suffered from the extremely unfavorable weather conditions during the years 1977, 1979 and 1980.

Deficiencies in labor have combined with the objective factors that have hampered development. In particular, the struggle against production losses, waste of capital and deviation from established procedures has not always been pursued.

Nevertheless, the deficiencies indicated cannot obscure the enormous accomplishments stemming from the creative activity of the party and of all the Soviet people during the 10th 5-year period. Our country has taken a major step forward in all phases of economic and social development.

The Soviet Union has entered the 1980's with great economic, scientific and technical potential, with highly qualified cadre, with great experience in the building of socialism and communism. The limits reached enable us to solve problems on a still greater scale.

[Question] What, in your opinion, will the basic tasks of the Soviet national economy be for the 5-year period 1981-1985, and what will the most important guidelines be for subsequent years?

[Answer] On the basis of the enormous economic potential created during past years, the party has formulated the principal task for the 11th 5-year period. It consists in "insuring continued improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people by means of steady, ongoing development of the national economy and acceleration of the scientific/technical progress, by means of movement of the economy into intensive growth, by means of more rational utilization of the country's

production potential, by means of the saving, by all means, of all resources, and by means of improvement of the quality of the work done.

The principal document our party is taking to its 26th Congress, the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Principal Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Years 1981-1985 and for the Period Until 1990," outlines the prospects for our country's development not only for the next 5 years but also for the following years, and therein lies the most important feature of the document. Its provisions spring from the party's tactical and strategic guidelines approved at previous CPSU congresses. Thus, the direction taken by the party in the determination of the principal tasks of the building of communism is clear.

The 1980's will be a new stage in the construction of the material and technical base for communism, in the development of social relations, in the development of the new man, in the insuring of continued social progress for society, and in the implementation of an extensive program for improvement of the people's welfare.

There is much to be done during the 11th 5-year period. The USSR's national income will rise 18-20 percent. Its growth in absolute terms will be much higher than during the previous 5-year period. It must also be born in mind that as our economy expands, each increment of social production assumes greater weight.

Industrial production for the years 1981-1985 will rise 26-28 percent. Generation of electricity will reach 1.55-1.60 billion kilowatt-hours. Extraction of petroleum (including condensed [fusical] gas) will reach 620-645 million tons; of natural gas, 600-640 billion cubic meters; of coal 770-800 million tons; and production of rolled ferrous metals will reach 117-120 million tons. The manufacture of machinery and tools will increase no less than 1.4 times. Attention will be focused primarily on improvement of technical level and the quality of manufacture of machinery.

The CPSU Central Committee is approaching from a new direction the issue of ways and methods of solving key problems found in a mature socialist economy. The chief feature of the development of the national economy during the next 10-year period will be the bringing-to-bear of a comprehensive perspective on the fulfillment of major economic tasks.

For the first time, in the implementation of current and future planning, the development and carrying out of a number of special comprehensive programs is contemplated.

Among those that are now being developed and that will be made an organic part of our plan is the essential role given to the food-supply program. The new approach to solving the food-supply problem entails insuring unified planning as well as financing and management of all sectors of the country's agroindustrial complex as a whole. The essential point in the program is that the measurement of what has been done must solely be the final result; that is, production not only in the field or in the farm, but right on the counter of the store.

Considerable material and financial resources are being set aside for the development of agriculture during the 5-year period that has just begun. Measures have been determined for improvement of specialization and concentration of farm production and for increased efficiency in agricultural and other sciences.

As a result of that the average annual farm production will rise 12-14 percent. Average annual production of grain will total 238-243 million tons; of cotton, 9.2-9.3 million tons; of meat, 17-17.5 million tons; of milk, 97-99 million tons; and of eggs, at least 72 billion.

To successfully fulfill the principal task of the 11th 5-year period, measures have been taken to improve the very important balance in the national economy: the growth rate for industrial group "B" (consumer goods) will surpass the growth rate for the "A" group (means of production): 27-29 percent for the "B" group in comparison 26-28 percent for the "A" group. For the production of widely consumed goods, the role of the heavy industry sector will increase.

What is new about the solution to the key problem--raising the people's standard of living--is effective use of social measures. Social progress during the 1980's will be characterized by solution of problems related to the development of the new man and improvement of the socialist way of life. We envision the creation of conditions for complete satisfaction of the people's wishes with respect to high-quality food products, industrial products, and articles for cultural and everyday use. We have embraced the task of essentially achieving the provision of an apartment for each family.

The possibilities for a harmonious spiritual life will continue to be expanded. Further progress toward the pinnacle of cultural achievement will be made. Esthetic education will advance. As in the past, the education system will occupy an important place.

During the 11th 5-year period, approximately 10 million people will receive specialized higher and intermediate instruction.

We envision a striking improvement of the public health system. For example, during the 5-year period, the total number of hospital beds in the USSR will be increased 8-10 percent; and production of medical goods will rise 40 percent.

Preventive health care, safety measures, organization of leisure time, tourism, mass sports activity, etc. will be improved.

Implementation of the plans laid is supported through the expansion of the material base.

The roads have been mapped out for fulfillment of the extensive program for improvement of the people's well-being; utilization of them will enable us to carry out the tasks we have assumed. The most important of them is to improve the efficiency of production. During the 1980's the idea of extensiveness will in effect give way to that of intensiveness in all sectors of the economy. That is, each ruble invested in the economy must produce the maximum benefit possible for the national treasury.

Production capital in the present Soviet economy totals 1.1 trillion rubles. What methods must be employed to improve utilization of this potential?

First of all, it is necessary to save what we already have. For example, according to economists' calculations, the expenditures for rationalization of consumption of raw materials in the medium term are two times below the equivalent increase in production. In other words, two tons of petroleum saved from coal, from metals, are going to cost as much as a ton taken out of the ground, not to mention keeping it for the future.

A second direction: comprehensive utilization of natural resources. The Soviet Union supplies itself from reserves of its natural wealth. It is trying to increase the wealth, engaging in active geologic exploration. That line is being maintained for the coming years, including widespread utilization of the most modern space-science methods. However, the richest deposits for today are often suitable for mining of simple raw materials, which reduces the efficiency of mining them.

The 1980's present particular demands with respect to demographic policy in our country. The problem of labor resources is becoming more acute. Precisely for this reason, during the new 5-year period, greater labor productivity will increase national income at least 85-90 percent and industrial production over 90 percent; all phases of agricultural production will be increased.

What are the means of carrying out this task? First of all, there is continued improvement of equipment used, introduction of as much mechanization and automation as possible, and prudent reduction in all sectors of the number of workers doing manual labor, especially in supplementary and auxiliary jobs.

Great importance is ascribed to improvement of the organization, setting of standards for, and promotion of labor, to the widespread introduction of the scientific organization of labor and to improvement of its effectiveness. A considerable role is being given to means of improved use of economic incentives. In this context, we plan to markedly improve the structure and organization of production, to promote the growth of socialist emulation, to improve the manner and methods of management of the economy, and to expand each worker's training.

As a result of all the steps taken to increase labor productivity, during the new 5-year period the national economy will witness the freeing of 17 million workers.

For a long time, of its own account the Soviet Union has earned the glory of a great country under construction. Also, during the 11th 5-year period, expenditures in the national economy for the account of all sources of financing will rise 12-15 percent.

The salient characteristic of the new 5-year period, which will distinguish it from previous ones, is that the rate of growth of the national income will be higher than the expenditures. This will be the source of funds required to meet the major needs indicated by our party, which involve a radical improvement of the state of things in the construction of basic works.

The growth of production proposed for the 5-year period requires the best distribution of the means of production, still closer, better coordination of sectorial

and regional plans, which is possible through continued specialization and proportional development of the economies of the federated republics and of the economic zones in the single national economic complex.

Considerable attention will be given to continued improvement of management and to raising the level of administration in all the links of the economy. That is related to the expansion of production, the complexity of economic bonds, and the requirements of the current scientific/technical revolution. Taking this into account, the CPSU Central Committee has recognized the necessity of including in "Principal Guidelines . . ." the special section "Improvement of Management, Raising the Level of Administration in All the Links of the National Economy," which is designed to guide management of the national economy toward fulfillment of the party's decisions concerning the issues of the country's economic and social development, completion of the economy's shift to intensive development, and the raising of the people's standard of living.

Also planned for the 11th 5-year period is continued development of the USSR's foreign economic relations, particularly with the socialist countries, and active participation by the USSR in the continued expansion of socialist economic integration among the countries belonging to the CEMA. The extent of cooperation between our countries, the USSR and Cuba, will increase over 1.5 times during these years.

The plan drawn up by our party's Central Committee for submission to the 26th CPSU Congress sets major, responsible tasks. This document of great political importance is being submitted for discussion by all the people in accordance with the Leninist tradition.

At meetings held throughout the country, the workers offer thousands of proposals intended to make the plans more concrete, for enlarging goals, for uncovering reserves not previously used, for increasing production. Proposals and expressions of desires and critical comments inspired by concerns regarding the common cause are published day after day in the pages of the Soviet press.

That is additional evidence of the genuine democracy of our mature socialist society.

The interest with which the Soviets are discussing the party's great proposals for the coming period make one feel certain that the plans drawn up for the will of millions will be successfully carried out.

[Question] What will the chief principles of the Soviet Union's foreign policy be with respect to the Republican administration in Washington, whose first steps are of worldwide concern because they threaten peace?

[Answer] The basic terms, the principles of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, were formulated by V. I. Lenin. They are proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. These are adhered to strictly and have been carried out by us since the first days of the Soviet Government's existence. The Soviet Union's unchanging desire for peace, for general and complete disarmament under rigorous international controls, for mutually beneficial cooperation among countries, and for economic,

social and cultural progress for all the peoples is known by everyone and has won the respect of all decent people on this planet.

In its relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, as always, regardless of which administration is in office at the given moment, has followed and continues to follow an upright policy intended to bring about better mutual understanding, a joint examination of bilateral issues and a shared contribution to constructive solution of international problems.

Soviet-American relations have witnessed different periods. There was the "Cold War," which contaminated international life and returned nothing to its initiators except self-disclosure. There were also the years of genuine peaceful coexistence, of actual mutually beneficial cooperation that contributed to improvement of the political climate throughout the world.

Unfortunately, during the Carter administration, the United States began to complicate our relations and the international situation in general. The famous campaign of intervention in internal affairs of countries began under the pretext of the "struggle for human rights." There was the creation of a microcrisis similar to the well-known antiCuban psychosis in regard to the alleged presence in Cuba of the so-called Soviet military brigade, and there was the undermining of important agreements intended to consolidate the process of international detente, which is in the interest of all peoples and countries.

Under these conditions, too, the Soviet Union has done everything possible to preserve and promote all constructive international processes and to improve Soviet-American relations. A notable example of this is the constructive proposals introduced at the 35th session of the UN General Assembly by the foreign minister of the USSR, Comrade Andrey Gromyko, as well as those offered by Comrade Leonid I. Brezhnev in his speech before legislators in India on 10 December 1980.

Nor did our position change with the change in leadership in the White House.

In the cable to Ronald Reagan on the occasion of his assuming the presidency of the United States, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted again, "The positive development of relations between the USSR and the United States and their constructive co-operation in the solution of current international problems would serve well the cause of ameliorating the international situation and of strengthening peace."

However, as the new American administration's first steps indicate, it is tending, at least for the present, to follow another line in its international politics. High officials in that government speak of an alleged "treachery" on the part of the Soviet Union in regard to the SALT-2 agreement's being more advantageous for the USSR than for the United States. There are repeated statements that international detente is like a one-way street, although the experts, including Americans, convincingly demonstrated some time ago that this agreement is beneficial for both countries and for the entire world.

In general, the impression is being created that for the United States it is better to live under conditions of a complicated international situation fraught with great danger than in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation. In recent days,

as TASS stated on 3 February 1981, Soviet leaders have been noting the development in the United States of a new campaign of hostility toward the Soviet Union. This time, they are accusing us of participation in "international terrorism," although the entire world knows that our country has always been, and continues to be, opposed to it both in theory and in practice, including in international relations.

It is also known that, on the other hand, the United States, along with some other western countries, have opposed the taking of effective measures to combat, in particular, air piracy. It no way can its position be strengthened by efforts to label as equivalent issues that are as unrelated in essence as are terrorism and the legitimate struggle of the peoples for social liberation. This is a mockery of the aspirations of millions of people on three continents who have fought, and are fighting, for a new life worthy of a human being.

However, the Soviet Union is still adhering to its established international course of action. In the name of the Soviet Government TASS has again stated that the Soviet Union is prepared to begin a constructive dialog with the Americans.

It is Washington's turn to speak.

[Question] Could you tell us how cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cuba is progressing in all regards?

[Answer] The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government ascribe extraordinary importance to the ongoing growth and expansion of the multifaceted ties with socialist Cuba.

During the past 5-year period, the Soviet collectives carried out considerable work to fulfill the bilateral commercial, economic, scientific/technical and cultural agreements concluded between our countries.

Soviet agencies provided technical aid in the construction in Cuba of over 40 industrial enterprises and other works. During this period, the cane-combine plant in Holguin began operations, as did the new turbines in the Mariel and Renta thermo-electric power plants. Over 700 km of 220 kV transmission lines were strung, and the oxygen plants in Holguin and Santa Clara were built.

Reconstruction work was done on the Jose Marti metallurgical plant, a group of sugar mills, seven textile plants, and over 400 km of the Havana-Santiago de Cuba railroad; and training was begun for the Cuban national cadres in 60 schools equipped with our assistance.

In the sphere of technical cooperation during the 5-year period, contracts worth nearly 1.2 billion rubles were carried out, which is more than was called for in the corresponding intergovernmental agreements. In 1980 alone, the amount of technical aid furnished to Cuba totaled nearly 370 million rubles.

Scientific/technical cooperation is being pursued successfully, carried out in accordance with long-term plans. Our advisers and consultants do work in the Cuban ministries and agencies.

Over the years, trade between our countries has grown continually. Cuba stands in sixth place among the USSR's trading partners. The volume trade rose 1.6 times and has now reached about 4.3 billion rubles. Supplies of Cuban goods in the USSR have risen steadily (sugar, cobalt and nickel concentrate, citrus fruits, etc.).

Specialists working in education, culture, medicine and sports have made a major contribution to the training of highly skilled Cuban cadres.

On 31 October 1980, the protocol concerning coordination of national plans between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba was signed in Moscow. Covering the years 1981-1985, the protocol calls for continued strengthening of the economic bonds between the USSR and Cuba within the framework of an extensive program of cooperation. The coordination of the shipment of goods between the countries through negotiations makes it possible to considerably increase trade between our countries during the years 1981-1985. The Soviet Union will continue to be Cuba's chief trading partner.

The amount of our economic and scientific/technical cooperation will increase, in effect, 1.5 times.

Economic cooperation between the USSR and Cuba will take place with a view to socialist economic integration of the countries belonging to the CEMA.

We note with satisfaction that Soviet-Cuban cooperation during the past years in all sectors is in keeping with the spirit of the declaration signed by comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro in February 1974. It has developed with full involvement by both parties, under mutually advantageous conditions, on the basis of fraternity and true friendship, Ambassador Vorotnikov concluded.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S., PRC 'INVESTIGATE' JAPAN'S MILITARIZATION

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 19-26 Apr 81 p 9

[Article by Prof Dmitry V. Petrov, head of the Japan Department at the Institute of the Far East, USSR Academy of Sciences, D. Sc. (History): "Who Is Pushing Japan's Militarisation?"]

[Text] Japan is rapidly increasing its military spending. The fighting fitness of the renewed army--or the "self-defence forces", as it is called--is being improved. The people are being assaulted with a hail of propaganda to create a moral and psychological atmosphere conducive to rearming (see issue No. 14).

Military Alliance With the USA

Tokyo was not kept in the dark too long as to what the ascent of the new Republican administration in the United States would mean for Japan. President Reagan told former Japanese Prime Minister Takeshi Fukuda on March 20 in Washington that the USA expected Japan to exert maximum efforts in defence. And when Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs Ito came to Washington, he was told that Japan should increase its contribution to the "West's global strategy", speed up the realization of its military programmes, and expand military cooperation with the USA in the North-West Pacific.

Washington considers its military alliance with Japan, founded on the January 1960 "security treaty", of priority importance for its regional and global objectives. Under the treaty, 119 American bases and 46,000 troops--mostly marines--are deployed in Japan.

The "security treaty" clearly limits the possible use of the bases to the Far East. But the USA frankly intends to use them in ventures everywhere. The marines stationed on Okinawa have been made part of the "rapid deployment forces", and press reports say they have been sent to the shores of Iran.

At the same time, the United States is demanding that Japan should rearm further and play a greater role in the American military-strategic system in Asia. The Japanese armed forces are being asked to conduct closely coordinated anti-sub and anti-aircraft operations with the warships and air force of the US Pacific Fleet, and to defend marine communications thousands of kilometres from Japan's shores. It is assumed that the Japanese Navy will look after the patrolling of marine

communications to Guam and then southwards down to the South China Sea and the Strait of Malacca.

The old doctrine "let Asians fight Asians" that was formulated back in the Eisenhower days of the 1950s is now being revived anew. But is this in the interests of Japan itself?

Japan in the West's Global Strategy

As a first step, Reagan administration spokesmen have suggested trilateral consultations among the United States, Japan and Western Europe on security questions.

The Japanese government has oft repeated that it cannot join any pact because the letter and the spirit of the Constitution prohibits it. But contrary to these declarations, it is obviously moving in compliance with American demands.

In particular, the establishment of a permanent trilateral political consultative organ to come up with agreed military-political concepts is being considered.

Japanese warships and warplanes joined US, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand navies and air forces in the military exercise code-named Rimpac-80 (Pacific Ring) last February-March. For the first time since the war, the Japanese navy initiated combat operations thousands of miles from Japan and far away from the Far East. And it has already been announced that Japan will join similar war games again next year.

Peking's Instigations

The danger to peace in Asia posed by Japan's mounting militarization has been heightened by its move towards closer relations with Peking, which is trying to involve Japan in its own anti-Soviet strategy. In an interview in Kyodo Tsushin Agency on August 20, 1980, China's Deputy Foreign Minister Han Nianlung openly called China and Japan "to draw up joint actions against the USSR".

Peking spokesman have reiterated their complete support of the Japanese-American military alliance, and have spoken in favour of Japan's more rapid militarization. China's Deputy Chief of Staff Wu Xiuquan told the Liberal-Democratic Party delegation April 29 last year that Japan should boost its military expenditure to two per cent of its GNP, i.e., to more than double them over the present level.

The last thing those who are pushing Japan onto the dangerous road of militarism think of is the fate of the Japanese people. The Japanese public sees another course. "It appears that persistent efforts are needed to restore the policy of international detente," the MAINICHI SHIMBUN recently declared editorially.

Detente instead of aggravating tensions, and good-neighbourliness instead of confrontation is the way which conforms to the thoughts and hopes of millions of Japanese and of all those who want a lasting peace.

INTERNATIONAL

PRC PROVOCATION IN INDIA, SOUTH ASIA ATTACKED

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English 27 Mar 81 pp 1-5

[Article by S. Agafonov]

[Text] The Indian media have recently been voicing well-justified concern over Beijing's attempts to exacerbate the situation in South Asia. THE PATRIOT, NATIONAL HERALD, AMRITA BAZAR PARTIKA, DECCAN HERALD, STATESMAN, HINDUSTAN TIMES and other papers have been reporting some hard facts about China's acts of provocation against the various countries of the region, India included.

At the same time, there have been official Chinese pronouncements and commentaries in the Chinese press once more calling for an accommodation, dialogue and even cooperation with India. China says it wants the bygones of confrontation to be bygones and to develop relations in most diverse fields. To all appearance, Beijing has decided to carry on its political game of--accommodation with Delhi. What is there behind it? How far is China sincere in making such peace?

The peace-loving India is well known to have been one of the major objects of Chinese intervention for over twenty years, that is since Beijing embarked on the path of militarism and expansionism. The country's growing international prestige and consistent pursuit of detente and good-neighbourly relations on equal terms with all the nations of the region are completely at variance with Beijing's hegemonic great-power ambitions and an obstacle to its expansionist policies in Asia.

Territorial claims are among the major aspects of China's anti-Indian policy. To enforce them, Beijing has tried all kinds of methods from cartographic aggression and falsification of historical documents to provoking armed conflicts and launching an armed invasion of the neighbouring country. China is known to be claiming some chunks of Indian territory, around 130 thousand square kilometres in area, of which some 33 thousand square kilometres were occupied by it during the aggression of 1959 and 1962.

In an effort to keep the occupied areas to itself for good, Beijing has been pushing the resolution of the border problem into the background, calling on India to normalize first the relations with China in the economic, scientific, cultural and other fields. As China's Deputy Foreign Minister Han Mianlong said in an interview for the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA, "We do not consider this (i.e. the territorial issues--S.A.) to be a very complicated problem. In our opinion it can eventually be solved." The way Beijing would have it solved has become clear from Deng Xiaoping's interview for the Indian VIKRANT magazine. The essential point of the Chinese proposals for

"comprehensive settlement," which have come to be known as the "Deng package," is that India must surrender some of her territory in the North-East in exchange for China's recognition of the legal border between the two nations in the North-West. Moreover Beijing is holding up such a recognition of the official frontier as a "concession" to India. As Indian politicians see it, Beijing's design is to have one chunk of Indian territory exchanged for another also belonging to India.

Another direction of Beijing's anti-Indian policy is its support for the separatist movements in Northern India. The Indian weekly NEW WAVE wrote that China had plans to establish a buffer state on a territory to be alienated from North-Eastern India and that the projected state was to become a jumping-off ground for Chinese expansion in Asia. At one time Beijing openly spoke about this plan. Thus, REMIN RIBAO threatened to dismember India by setting up the states of the Naga and Mizo tribes. Beijing had for long "doubted" India's right to its state of Jammu and Kashmir and it had been even more frank about Sikkim: "China will never recognise Sikkim as an Indian state." Over and above these hostile statements, China forwarded hundreds of tons of weapons, foodstuffs and propaganda materials to the separatists who operate in India and who are incited by Beijing.

A few months ago China said that it had stopped aiding anti-Indian dissident groups. However, facts point to the contrary. Thus, major centres to train spies and saboteurs from among the Naga and Mizo tribesmen and other separatists operate in the southern parts of the Xinjiang-Uygur and Tibet autonomous areas of China. In November 1980 alone, according to the newspaper PATRIOT, over 500 militants from the underground organisations struggling for an "independent state" to be established in India's Nagaland state, had been secretly brought to these centres. The opening months of this year saw the growing activities of pro-Beijing separatist groups in North-East India. According to the newspaper STATESMAN, 70 terrorists, trained at subversive centres, had been smuggled into India. Speaking recently at a seminar of the parliamentary group of the Indian National Congress (I), Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao said that India was exposed to subversive activities on the part of China which was training Naga and Mizo rebels.

Sticking to its strategic concept of the inevitability of war, China is building up its military presence in border areas, specifically on the Chinese-Indian frontier. This is another aspect of Beijing's anti-Indian policy. While Beijing officials say that they want to normalise relations with India, more and more Chinese troops are being brought to the Tibet areas bordering on India. At present, the press reported, over 300,000 Chinese officers and men are stationed there. In the Nagchu mountain sector, China keeps, trained on India, 70 missiles with a 950 km range of action and 20 ballistic missiles with a 2,400 km range of action.

A network of strategic roads leading from Central China to Tibet is rapidly being built. A major missile base from which, according to THE INDIAN EXPRESS, it will be possible to hit Delhi and 20 other major Indian cities, is under construction. Twelve new airforce bases have recently become operational. In November 1980, the UNI news agency reported, Chinese aircraft had invaded India's air space on six occasions. In India's Jammu and Kashmir state, part of which was illegally occupied by Pakistan in 1948, China built the 800 km-long Karakorum road which connected Xinjiang with Pakistan and which gave China an outlet to the Karachi port on the Indian Ocean. The road is under Chinese control. Chinese army units, garrisons and missile launchers are deployed along the road. The PTI news agency reported that Pakistan and China have a secret agreement on building a Chinese naval base west of Karachi.

The rapidly growing contacts between China and Pakistan are explained largely by the role which the Maoists want Islamabad to play in their policy of eroding stability in India and South Asia. Beijing is busily arming Pakistan, anxious to set Islamabad more against India and make it a handy tool in Chinese hands. This is particularly apparent in military cooperation, which embraces such spheres as exchange of military delegations, joint exercises, supply to Pakistan of Chinese military equipment and arms (from small arms, tanks and artillery all the way through to "ground-to-air" missiles and fighter bombers), and construction inside Pakistan of munitions factories. Chinese instructors supervise the building of military roads in the illegally occupied part of Kashmir, that is, actually on Indian territory; China is helping to complete the Gilgit-Shardu strategic road, a branch of the Karakorum highway stretching toward the Indian frontier. Speaking in Parliament recently, the Indian State Minister of Defence S.V. Patil, declared that the Government of India was in possession of information that Pakistan was building a number of air bases with Chinese help. The Chinese side is also doing everything to satisfy Pakistan's nuclear ambitions. In particular, it has offered its territory for testing Pakistan's first atomic bomb.

India's stand on relaxation of tension and her efforts in implementing the UN General Assembly's declaration proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, are well known. Viewed from this angle, China's foreign policy line cannot be qualified otherwise than anti-Indian. Hypocritically announcing its support "in principle" for this declaration, Beijing is trying in practice to undermine its implementation, rejecting all constructive proposals aimed at turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and stability. In full agreement with the oft-repeated Chinese official thesis about the "coincidence of the strategic interests" of China and the U.S., Beijing approves, among other things, the strengthening of the U.S. base on Diego Garcia and the use by the Pentagon of other strongpoints of aggression in southern Asia. These actions have been properly characterised in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress. As before, Beijing's foreign policy, said Leonid Brezhnev, "is aimed at aggravating the international situation and is aligned with the policy of the imperialist powers."

Events show that Beijing's declared desire to normalise its relations with India runs counter to its concrete steps. As the Indian NATIONAL HERALD pointed out, the Chinese leaders' show of peaceableness towards India is at odds with their deeds. Their call for a settlement is in effect a smokescreen behind which China continues its former policy towards India—a policy of territorial claims, interference in the affairs of that sovereign state, and encouragement of anti-Indian elements both inside and outside the country.

Beijing's manoeuvres in the current political game of "settlement" are seen through in India. The weekly BLITZ described in China's recent "normalisation" proposals as "another blackmail attempt directed against India. As the Delhi newspaper BUSINESS ST. MARD said, the fact show beyond any shadow of doubt that China's anti-Indian policy has not changed.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. ACCUSED OF USING PAKISTAN TO PURSUE MILITARISTIC POLICIES

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English 31 Mar 81 pr 1-4

[Article by A. Vlasov]

[Text] U.S. politicians are more and more often referring to Pakistan in their latest statements. The country is mentioned by White House and State Department officials and by officers of every rank from the Pentagon staff. They discuss the establishment of U.S. military bases in Pakistan in the near future, the suppliers of war technology to Islamabad and plans for concluding "an unbreakable mutual defence treaty" between the U.S. and Pakistan.

So the Reagan Administration has taken up Pakistan in the course of studying the legacy left over by their predecessors and working out a new approach to foreign-policy problems. Judging by the statements of White House leaders, the country is being assigned "the key role in defending U.S. national interests" not only in South Asia but also in a larger area of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

The point of departure for the "new approach" is President Reagan's recent statement about the U.S. intention to continue supplying American weapons to the gangs of Afghan counter-revolutionaries who cross into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from Iran and Pakistan.

As for the events around Afghanistan, the Soviet Union's position is perfectly clear. Our country is prepared for a serious and constructive dialogue on the international aspects of the Afghan problem. At the same time, as the TASS statement of March 19, 1981, pointed out, the Soviet Union will continue rendering that friendly country assistance to the extent which will be necessary as long as military intervention and acts of aggression are carried on against the people and Government of Afghanistan.

Reagan's statement puts President Zia-ul-Haq in a difficult situation, which did not look good as it was because of Pakistan's role in the undeclared act of aggression against Afghanistan, once concealed and now officially confirmed. Using Pakistan's involvement in aggressive activities against Afghanistan, the U.S. ruling circles are in a hurry to make it take the next step, that is, to pursue and protect "U.S. global objectives," the ultimate goal here being the establishment of a chain comprising Egypt, Israel, Kenya, Oman, Pakistan and some other countries, to subordinate their natural and human resources to the U.S. militarist objectives and to make them accomplices in another round of the arms race. In this way one concession entails another, and a chain reaction sets in.

The policy to Pakistan is being reviewed not from the point of view of correcting mistakes connected with the participation in the aggression against sovereign Afghanistan, but, on the contrary, from the viewpoint of more extensive involvement in ensuring U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The White House has decided to correct the actions of the previous administration which restricted American military and economic aid to countries seeking to create their own nuclear weapons. Pakistan was among them. The U.S. Congress had adopted an appropriate amendment on the matter.

While the legislators hunt out the "arguments" they need, the military make up the list and count the value of supplies worth a total of 2,000 million dollars.

The police functions in the Persian Gulf, which had been formerly performed by the Shah of Iran, are now being accorded to Egypt and Israel on one flank and Pakistan on the other. The American plans there are threateningly taking shape. It is a known fact that about 70 "Afghan refugee camps" are situated in Pakistan and that gangs are being trained in many of them. Pakistani officers are in charge of training there alongside American advisers. Documents seized in Afghanistan and interrogation of imprisoned counter-revolutionaries revealed that the training of bandits in Pakistan is coordinated by "a joint military staff" including Pakistani military experts. In April last year two bandit groups were formed and smuggled into Afghanistan from the bases of the 9th and 36th battalions of the Pakistani army, which are quartered in the border areas.

Here's another point. Using the slogan of the "redemption of Islam," the Afghan counter-revolutionaries kill peaceful citizens, old men, women and children in Afghanistan. Recently, the same slogan has been brought into the open in Pakistan, too. Does not this confirm the speculations that Afghan counter-revolutionary are joining the forces organizing terror against the opposition?

The militarist plans of the U.S. in Asia and the rearmament of Pakistan are a subject of grave concern in the political circles of India--a peaceful country enjoying a mounting prestige in international relations. It is emphasized at the session of the Indian Parliament and in the Indian press that modern arms deliveries to Pakistan will lead to a destabilization of the situation in the region and will pose a threat to the unity and territorial integrity of India. Modernized Pakistani divisions may be deployed along the border with India, while the proposed American-Pakistani "security treaty" will acquire an anti-Indian nature.

These are the facts proving that the ruling circles of Pakistan are prepared to turn their territory into a source of exacerbating tension so as to please Washington.

The apprehensions of the neighbouring countries are well justified for this policy carries a threat to their independence and sovereignty. After all, the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the freedom-loving democratic forces of El Salvador, inspired today by the United States, can recur tomorrow in any other part of the world announced a "zone of vital U.S. interests."

Some representatives of the U.S. Administration continue to circulate the myth that concluding a "mutual defence treaty," setting up U.S. military bases, arms supplies and additional injections into the Pakistani economy will serve to reduce internal tension in the country. The only correct thing they claim is that the situation in Pakistan has seriously aggravated. The opposition forces, which demand that elections be held and civil rule be established, have been gaining momentum, despite the arrests.

These anti-American activities are taking place in the country. By Washington's present standards, they could be qualified as "international terrorism."

In Pakistan itself there are persons who, intentionally distorting facts, tend to camouflage the internal difficulties by intrigues of "enemies from outside." In connection with the hijacked Pakistani air liner there were voiced many malicious insinuations about "Kabul's involvement," and the Soviet Union's stand on hijacking was blatantly warped. All these fabrications were evidently prompted by Washington which has been trying to revitalise the old bug-bear of "Soviet threat," resorting to base lies.

Pakistan is really facing a threat to its national interests. But this threat comes not from the Soviet Union but from the United States which has been urging the Pakistani ruling circles to take even more dangerous action by its policy of the arms race and of building up U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean areas.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. CAMPS SAID TO TRAIN REFUGEES IN TERRORIST TACTICS

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English Mar 81 pp 1-2

[Text] 26 Mar--"The United States encourages and organises international terrorism and provides its material support," IZVESTIA New York correspondent V. Soldatov writes on March 26. "No secret is made here of the existence in the United States of military camps at which Cuban counterrevolutionaries are trained in sabotage tactics. One of such camps is situated in Miami, within a 20-minute drive from the airport. All in all there are over 10 such camps in Florida.

"Military camps for Cuban 'refugees' in Florida and in other states have existed many years. Lately they started to attract more attention. The camps are visited by correspondents more frequently. Interviews are given more willingly than before. And the 'refugees' more readily stand for cameras. The increased interest in the camps has two reasons.

"The first one is the appearance at the camps of hundreds of people in unusual uniforms. They are also 'refugees,' but from another country--Nicaragua. Most of them served in the national guard of dictator Somoza and participated in atrocities against patriots. They hate the revolution and the people who threw them out of the country.

"The second, and the most important reason for increased attention in the emigrants is the noisy campaign of the Republican administration against 'international terrorism' and the support of the Salvadoran ruling junta, on the one hand, and the undisguised hostility towards Cuba and Nicaragua, on the other.

"The anti-Cuban campaign in the United States has assumed greater dimensions with the arrival of the Republicans at the White House," the correspondent continues. Having had hardly any time to look around, spokesmen for the administration began making 'tough' statements against Cuba. It is not seldom that we hear even open threats.... Threats are also made to the government of Nicaragua. Intimidation has always featured in Washington's diplomatic practices. And at present this instrument is used particularly often.

"Plans of Washington, which supports right-wing regimes in Central American and suppresses national-liberation movements, provides for a special role for Cuban counterrevolutionaries and, currently, for 'refugees' from Nicaragua as well. It is not accidental that they are allowed to set up training camps in the United States and conduct open terrorist training under experienced instructors.

"The authorities maintain that the counterrevolutionaries are not linked with the CIA, but act on their own. The same was also said before the attempted invasion of Cuba by mercenaries, which took place 20 years ago this April."

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INTERNATIONAL

FORMATION AND TASKS OF PROLETARIAT IN ASIA, AFRICA EXAMINED

Formation of Industrial Proletariat

Moscow AZIYA I APRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 1 Oct 80
pp 7-10

/Article by L. Fridman, doctor of economics, and S. Voronin, candidate in economics: "Industrialization and Proletariat of the African and Asian Countries. Part One"/

/Excerpts/ A considerable number of research studies in Soviet literature have been devoted to the working class in the zone of the national liberation movement. To a certain extent, they have all expanded our conceptions about the conditions of formation, the position, and the struggle of the proletariat in the African and Asian countries. But, naturally, this does not mean that the problems of the working class of the liberated countries have been studied to a sufficient degree.

Certain Quantitative Characteristics of the Industrial Proletariat

The total number of the modern industrial proletariat in the developing countries of Asia and Africa had reached 35-38 million persons by the end of the 1970's. During the period from the 1950's through the 1970's the growth in the number of workers employed in modern types of enterprises in industry, construction, and transport progressed in the liberated countries at a rate approximately one and one half times faster than in the industrially developed states of western Europe and North America.

Of course, by remaining within the framework of the world capitalist economy, the developing countries experienced all the consequences of the cyclical nature of development of the world capitalist economy. During periods of crises and recessions the growth rates of industry, construction, and transport sharply declined, as consequently did also the increase in the number of the proletariat. The indicators of employment in modern industry and infrastructure have also been affected by the nature of technical progress, which has conditioned the growth of a number of capital-consuming enterprises and, at the same time, a reduction in the relative labor-consumption of production. Nevertheless, as industrial construction has developed in the countries of Asia and Africa, the expansion of employment in the industrial sector of the economy has become more or less steady. Now over the broad spaces of the African and Asian continents there are practically no states left in which more or less significant groups of modern proletarians are not in the process of formation.

The expansion of the ranks of the factory-plant proletariat in the countries of Asia and Africa has occurred at a rate almost twice as fast as that of the growth of the entire self-supporting population. In other words, during the course of industrialisation there has been a notable increase not only in the absolute number but also in the proportion of the industrial proletariat within the social class structure. It would, of course, be incorrect to exaggerate the scope and significance of these changes, inasmuch as the proportion of the working class in the self-supporting population of these countries even today does not exceed six or seven percent (during the 1950's it was three or four percent). However, the socioeconomic and political role of the modern proletariat is far from exhausted merely by the average indicators of its proportion within the entire self-supporting population. Also of importance is the territorial-production concentration of workers in cities and large enterprises, which determine the development of present-day production forces.

By the mid-1970's approximately 20 percent of the entire population of the Asian and African countries were living in cities; 70 to 80 percent of the modern industrial proletariat was concentrated there. Moreover, the workers in large-scale industries and infrastructure on an average comprised about one-fourth of all city-dwellers having any kind of employment. Thus, the proportion of the industrial proletariat in the cities was almost one-fourth higher than that for all the economically active population of the African and Asian countries. This figure is characteristic for most of the so-called multi-functional cities, whereas for industrial centers it is, naturally, much higher.

Of course, in many cities of Asia and Africa there is a predominance, as before, of cities which are centers of small-scale trade, services, handicrafts, and even agricultural production; here the proportion of the industrial proletariat is quite small, and in certain modest-sized urban-type populated points there is a complete lack of modern industrial enterprises. Workers here are under the powerful influence of a social environment which hardly favors a growth in their class consciousness, and the process of the final division of the proletariat from the peasantry and the urban lower classes is proceeding extremely slowly. It is not these, however, but rather the very large modern-type cities which "represent the centers of a people's economic, political, and spiritual life and which constitute the main engines of progress."¹ It is precisely in the large industrial and modern multi-functional that the rate of class formation has sharply accelerated and the industrial proletariat has united around itself broad strata of workers, and this has substantially increased the power and importance of the labor movement on a general national scale.

A number of developing countries in Asia and Africa have also been characterized by an historically formed comparatively high production concentration of industrial proletariat. As early as the first few postwar years in many of the liberated countries of Asia and North Africa the level of manpower concentration in factory-plant industry was not so far behind the analogous indicators for certain countries of Western Europe. In essence, however, such a comparison can only be provisional in nature, inasmuch as the creation and operation of large-scale enterprises in the colonies and semi-colonies were founded on certain specific socioeconomic factors, primarily the striving by foreign capital to compensate for the low labor productivity in the technically backward enterprises of colonial industry by a maximum exploitation of large masses of unskilled manpower.

Under the conditions of an increased relative overpopulation of the villages, which cast onto the labor market hundreds of thousands and millions of people looking for any kind of jobs, the entrepreneurs established extremely low wage rates, designed to satisfy the minimum needs of just the workers themselves but scarcely their families. Such a practice led to temporary concentrations in cities and at mine sites of migrant workers the composition of which was constantly changing. Even at the largest and comparatively more mechanized enterprises people replaced machines at many operations.

Within the process of industrialization the growth of the concentration of the industrial proletariat is also continuing. In Pakistan, Algeria, Egypt, and a number of other countries more than half of all the factory-plant proletariat are concentrated in enterprises with 500 or more employees. In India most industrial workers are employed in factories and plants which have a thousand or more employees. In Zaire at enterprises employing more than a thousand persons there was a concentration of 52 percent of all factory workers in 1959; in 1968 this figure had already reached 86 percent. Even in a country with a small population, such as the People's Republic of the Congo, approximately half the workers and clerical employees are concentrated in enterprises which employ 500 or more persons.

However, far more important than the formal indicators of the proletariat's concentration are its qualitative changes. The profile of large factories and plants in the African and Asian countries at which most industrial workers are concentrated has now substantially changed in comparison with the first few postwar years. In the first place, they are, as a rule, mechanized enterprises where the basic production processes are carried out with the use of modern types of equipment. In the second place, many of them now belong to industrial sectors of the first category. Suffice it to say that in such countries as India, Algeria, Turkey, Nigeria, Egypt, and Tunisia the level of worker concentration in heavy industry is already substantially higher than it is in the enterprises of the principal sectors of the second category.

During recent years there has been a sharp rise in the level of worker concentration at the heavy industrial enterprises in Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, South Korea, and other countries. Finally, and this is most important, at such enterprises the proportion of regular skilled workers is already quite high. And although temporary and part-time workers, those engaged in manual labor, still comprise here a considerable stratum of the hired manpower, the basic contingent of today's production is made up of persons possessing certain industrial specializations and skills. Of course, even the large factories and plants of the liberated countries notably lag behind the enterprises of analogous types in the industrially developed countries with respect to the quality of equipment and the complexity of labor. But despite the above-mentioned circumstance, during the past two decades the indicators of the concentration of the factory-plant proletariat in the developed and the developing countries have not only drawn closer together quantitatively, but have become more or less comparable qualitatively as well.

A correct determination of the place and role of this or that class within the entire social structure of the developing countries is impossible without taking into consideration the dialectical interconnection between the indicators of its absolute and relative numbers, the over-all Afro-Asian and country-by-country indicators, as well as the characteristics of the situation in various types of cities. The contingents of industrial workers have been extremely unevenly "distributed" among the countries and regions of the Afro-Asian world.

In this connection it must be emphasized that the very concept of "class" has a definite quantitative aspect. It was not by accident that V. I. Lenin, in pointing out the basic criteria of classes as social communities, assigned first place to the quantitative characteristic: classes are "large groups of people." One could hardly designate as a proletarian class groups of people numbering a few thousand or even 20 or 30,000 persons, most of whom are migrants from rural villages, dispersed about different cities and villages, and surrounded by hundreds of thousands or even millions of peasants, artisans, traders, and so forth.

As a class, a modern industrial proletariat is formed as the number of workers in the economy's industrial sectors reaches a specific level, a certain "critical mass," the amount of which depends on the concrete conditions, place, and time. It may be assumed that the appropriate figures vary between 50 and 100,000 persons. With such a number of regular industrial workers, concentrated in a few modern cities at comparatively large enterprises, the prerequisites are created for the culmination of class-forming trends. It is precisely at this stage that the opposition between the interests of the workers and those of the capitalists are revealed in particularly sharp relief, old patriarchal traditions and relations are weakened, new social production ties take shape, and trade unions and other proletarian organizations come into being. Moreover, by the end of the 1970's in the developing countries of Asia and Africa there were already about 100 cities in each of which were living more than 400,000 people and had a concentration of more than 40,000 industrial, construction, and transport workers each.

Level of Socioeconomic Maturity and Social Profile of Industrial Proletariat

The historical role of the working class is determined not only by its quantitative characteristics but depends, to a great extent, as well on the level of the objective maturity of the proletariat, which comes about, in V. I. Lenin's words, only as a result of "many years of being at a factory without any goals on its side, as well as from the general conditions of economic and social life.")

With respect to the degree of socioeconomic maturity the modern proletariat of the Asian and African countries lags notably behind the industrial workers of Western Europe and North America. This circumstance has been brought about not only by its "relative youth but also by the specific traits of a poorly developed agrarian economy under the conditions of which the class consolidation and the final separation out of workers from the social milieu which gave birth to them and which surrounds them have been substantially slowed down.

The comparatively low average level of the technical equipment of even the modern sector of industry, the disproportionately large development of its "seasonal" branches bring about a broad dissemination of unskilled labor and a high labor turnover. Even the permanent staffs of factory-plant workers here maintain manifold

and persistent ties with the peasant, trade-and-handicrafts, and petty bourgeoisie surroundings, and, moreover, to a much greater degree than this takes place in the industrial countries of the West. Also compelling them in this direction is the low level of the wages, which do not even meet the most meager minimum to live on, and the limited sphere of employment within large-scale industrial production. Inasmuch as the seasonal workers, temporary and part-time workers, as well as those who leave at least part of their family in the village, comprise an extremely significant percentage of the employees in the modern sector of industry, the uniqueness of their position inevitably affects the social profile of the entire industrial proletariat.

This does not mean, however, that the petty property-owning and communal-clan psychology, customs, and traditions "permeate" the entire life of the modern proletariat of these countries or affect equally the social awareness of its various strata and divisions. There are hardly any countries left in the Afro-Asian world today where a core of regular workers has not taken shape and finally linked its destiny with the large-scale industrial and urban way of life.

These conclusions pertain to the growing stratum of industrial proletarians, including the regular hereditary workers for whom intra-class ties play a much larger role than contacts with the non-proletarian environment. Its proportion amounts to approximately one-fourth to one-third of the entire number of industrial workers. But it is precisely this core which forms the firm skeleton of the working class and which, to a large extent, determines the continuity of the traditions of the proletariat's struggle for its own economic and political rights. Also belonging to this core are an approximately equal number of regular workers in the first generation who have linked their lot with the city and factory production but who still retain their daily and partially their social links with the peasantry or with the urban non-proletarian environment. Finally, about one-fourth or one-third of the industrial workers have still not become regular proletarians. They do not have any skills, remain astemporary or part-time workers, and retain the hope of returning to their native villages or small towns.

The principal factors retarding the process of class consolidation have exerted a particularly powerful influence on the youngest group of the modern industrial proletariat--the industrial workers of tropical Africa. Even by the early '960's the overwhelming majority of African workers employed in plants, mines, and construction sites were seasonal workers who migrated more or less regularly from their native villages to industrial centers and back again. As a result of the enormously high labor turnover during the course of one or two years--and sometimes even within a few months there used to occur in the enterprises a complete or almost complete change in the entire composition of the workers. However, here also after independence was gained, the process of forming permanent staffs of workers speeded noticeably and took on a broad scope.

The stabilization of the work force speeded up under the influence of unemployment, which grew in the cities. Under the circumstances of the growing competition in the urban labor market from educated youths, the former peasant-migratory workers strove to hold onto their jobs in enterprises, and they became permanent workers. Moreover, not only was there a reduction in the scope of the labor turnover but also a change in its nature. Under present-day conditions this is primarily a shift or displacement of factory workers within the bounds of a machine-type, non-farm

production, i. e., the workers remain proletarians no matter how often they change their place of employment. As the work force became stabilized in large-scale industrial production, there was an increase in the number of the regular proletariat: if at the beginning of the 1960's it comprised no more than a fourth, by the mid-1970's it already included more than a half of all employees in modern industry and the infrastructure.⁴ Of course even these permanent industrial workers, who had firmly linked their own destinies with the cities and with large-scale production still preserved manifold economic, social, and everyday-custom ties with the village and the non-proletarian environment in general, and they are still essentially different from the regular proletariat of the developed capitalist countries. However, if in the early 1950's the industrial workers of tropical Africa in their overwhelming majority still remained as peasant-migratory workers, then by the end of the 1970's the initial stages of forming a permanent industrial proletariat had been completed here as well. And this means that with all the differences between the working classes of the individual countries and regions, conditioned by the far from equal indicators of the general and particular industrial development, scope, rate, and duration of industrialization, by the present time the basic groups of the modern industrial proletariat of the countries of Asia, North, and Tropical Africa have undoubtedly drawn closer together with respect to the level of socioeconomic maturity and primarily from the viewpoint of the formation of their regular industrial nucleus.

The process of forming the working class in the countries of Africa and Asia is complicated and contradictory. Under the conditions of industrialization the stabilization of the proletariat is an extremely important tendency, but not the only one, determining its development. In the first place, during the course of the accelerated growth of employment in industry numerous contingents of new workers without the appropriate production and social experience have poured into the ranks of the industrial proletariat. These are primarily young people who have come into enterprises directly from school, but there are also those who have begun their labor career in agriculture, trade, handicrafts, or the service field. In the second place, a large part of these recruits have consisted of people from a non-proletarian environment by birth.

The tendency toward "social dilution" of the industrial proletariat may be quite simply illustrated by the data of demographic statistics. During the years 1950--1975 the average annual indicators for the increase in the number of workers employed in the industrial sectors of the economy reached approximately 3.5--4 percent, whereas the average annual increase of the entire self-supporting during this period did not exceed 1.5--2 percent. Consequently, even if all the children of workers were to become industrial proletarians, they would be able to furnish no more than 40--50 percent of all the recruits of the working class. However, in reality in all countries a process of inter-generational social mobility is observed, as a result of which a considerable portion of the children do not follow the occupations of their fathers.⁵ Taking the above-mentioned circumstance into consideration, it may be assumed that the proportion of those deriving from proletarian families among the recruits of the modern industrial proletariat in the initial stages of the industrialization of the liberated countries has not exceeded 25--40 percent. In other words, the gradual unfolding of the process of industrialization has meant that the comparatively rapid growth in the number of the proletariat in a number of cases has been accompanied by a temporary reduction in the proportion of the regular hereditary workers within its composition.

It is understandable that this tendency on the whole "is in opposition" to the tendency toward stabilization in the class consolidation of the industrial proletariat. However, before making any final conclusions we must turn our attention to other qualitative characteristics of the "new" industrial workers and examine them within their interrelationship with the new socioeconomic conditions of hiring which are dictated by industrialization.

Let us note first of all that the increase in the role of external sources for recruitment has been accompanied by a change in the social profile of the principal mass of people who have come into the factories and plants. If in the past these were mainly people from peasant families, nowadays the village, although it does remain an important source of manpower for the industrial sectors, no longer plays its former role in the recruitment of the ranks of the industrial proletariat. Serving as an indicator of this phenomenon are the data concerning the increase in the proportion of city-dwellers in its composition.

The change in the sources of recruitment of the industrial proletariat represents a positive phenomenon even if only because the stepped-up flow into the ranks of city-dwellers facilitates a rise in the professional and general cultural level of broad strata of workers. This tendency reflects not only a growth in competition in the labor market because of unemployment in the cities but also a rise in the "social status" of the industrial worker, and the main thing--profound structural shifts in industry itself, which now places much higher demands than previously on the personality of the worker. It is not by accident that the proportion of city-dwellers and primarily those deriving from the "more educated" middle strata is especially high in the new sectors of the first category, in the large machine-building, electrical-engineering, and chemical enterprises which are furnished with more up-to-date equipment.

The questions of the interrelationship between the transformation of the backward industrial structure in the liberated countries and the sociocultural development of the proletariat will be examined in Part Two of our article.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 341.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 15.
3. Op cit, Vol 45, p 20.
4. "Afrikanskiy gorod" [The African City], Moscow, 1979, pp 177-178.
5. See "Osobennosti vospriyvodaства рабочего класса развитых капиталистических стран" [Characteristics of the Reproduction of the Working Class of Developed Capitalist Countries], Moscow, 1978, pp 42, 111.

Growth, Change of Proletariat

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SMOODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 80 signed to press 24 Oct 80
pp 6-9

Article by L. Fridman, doctor of economics, and S. Voronin, candidate in economics:
"Industrialisation and Proletariat of the African and Asian Countries. Part Two"

Excerpts / The sociocultural profile of the working class refers to a number of those of its qualitative characteristics which comparatively recently became an object of study.

During the last few years Soviet orientalists and Africanists have accomplished quite a bit in the study of the problems of the influence of the traditional environment, as well as that of the pre-bourgeoisie socio-cultural "layers" on the social consciousness, in particular on the level of maturity and the social orientation of workers in the countries of Africa and Asia.

It has become clear that the structure of mass consciousness is determined here by the "dual" nature of the social organization of this group of states; moreover, the predominant influence on various social strata at various stages may be exerted either by traditional or by contemporary factors. The degree and correlation between these influences are extremely difficult to establish, inasmuch as the use of the usual quantitative indicators in the field of social psychology is not always possible. However, the chief tendencies which determine the general prospects for the sociocultural development of the industrial nucleus of a working class are linked, in the final analysis, with the profound socioeconomic changes caused by industrialisation and, primarily, with shifts in the industrial sectors of the economy, as well as in the sectorial and skills structures of the modern industrial proletariat. Therefore, we have used certain quantitative characteristics which determine the scope of these shifts.

Under the conditions of independent development in the countries of Asia and Africa not only have the growth rates of the modern proletariat been speeded up, but its sectorial structure has also been gradually changed.

The process of industrialization which began during the 1950's and 1960's was justifiably accompanied by an outdistancing growth of the manufacturing industry, especially that of heavy industry. The scope and rates of this process were determined by many objective and subjective factors. Of considerable importance were the sizes of the territories and the number of the population of this or that country, its historically formed economic specialisation, as well as governmental policy and the entire complex of relations with the outside world. On the whole, however, there was a clearly marked tendency toward the gradual overcoming of the previous colonial structure of industry and hence that of the working class as well.

Of course, industrialization, which was begun in most of the developing countries of Asia and Africa on a capitalist basis, could not overcome the backwardness in heavy industry, which had been caused by the colonial past, within the course of 15 or 20 years. On the whole, the structure of the working class in these countries still differs essentially from that in the developed capitalist states: in Western Europe and North America heavy industry concentrates as much as 60--70 percent of all factory-plant proletarians in comparison with 23--25 percent in the developing countries of Asia and tropical Africa, and approximately 30 percent in North Africa. However, we must take into consideration substantial differences within the Afro-Asian world. Thus, in a number of underpopulated countries heavy industry either is entirely lacking or has only just begun to emerge, whereas India, Turkey, or Algeria have already drawn close to certain countries of Western Europe with respect to the above-mentioned indicators.

The creation in the overwhelming majority of the African and Asian countries of new sectors of production together with measures concerning the overall modernization of industry and the infrastructure have exerted a tangible influence on the vocational and skills composition along with the entire sociocultural profile of the proletariat.

In the past in a colonial factory with its primitive equipment the great majority of workers either had no skills whatsoever or they comparatively quickly were trained in certain special skills. In essence, for the few skilled and semi-skilled workers in such an enterprise their experience in handling machinery retained a number of characteristics of a handicraft specialisation. Subsequently, as the transition to mass production was made, at a comparatively small number of large plants a unique kind of "fragmentation" of labor operations occurred; there appeared a type of specialized worker (assemblers and sometimes lathe operators), who were trained comparatively rapidly in the enterprise and were very reminiscent of the manufacturing workers of the past. Of course, such specialized workers were handling new equipment and had already mastered machine-type production, but the range of their skills, as a rule, was very narrow and could not ensure a rapid transition from one operation to another or the mastery of broad-based production standards.

Under the conditions of incipient industrialization, the coming into being of new sectors of production, the supplying of heavy industrial enterprises, and partially those of light industry, with up-to-date equipment approaching world standards, there began to appear in the developing countries of Asia and Africa dozens of new occupations, the mastery of which requires not only special skills but also a higher level of production standards and comprehensive training. In connection with this the skills composition of an industrial proletariat becomes considerably complicated. Along with the relative reduction of an extensive stratum of unskilled workers, there is an increase at factories and plants in the number and proportion not only of trained workers, skilled workers of the old type with their own handicraft specialization, but also up-to-date, highly skilled workers possessing fine vocational and general-educational training.

Improvement in the vocational-skills training of the industrial workers of the developing countries has been facilitated by international economic cooperation and, primarily, by aid from the USSR and the other socialist states in building important projects for industry and transmitting the latest production technology to the national staffs. For example, the construction with the help of the USSR in the African and Asian countries of a large number of enterprises has been constantly accompanied by intensive training of the necessary contingents of local workers and specialists.

The most effective form of mass training of skilled workers has become the method of individual-brigade training directly at the construction sites during the course of developing capacities and operating projects.

Imported technology and complex, up-to-date, industrial equipment require from the workers connected with it not only a narrow production specialisation but an ever higher level of education and standards.

As during the years of independence in the countries of Asia and Africa the sphere of public education developed, there was an increase in the proportion of the youth obtaining general educational training, and, at the same time, there was an increase in the demand for educated workers in the industrial sectors of the economy, along with a sharp reduction in the proportion of illiterates among the new members of the industrial proletariat.

Of great importance for the social vocational and cultural profile of the proletariat is the emergence within its environment of a rapidly expanding stratum of workers who have received a relatively good general and special education.

The modernization of industrial production, a certain improvement in the working conditions and living standards of the industrial proletariat, as well as the extension of a modern type of education have created important prerequisites for assimilating new cultural values and for obtaining manifold information about the surrounding world.

The rise in the cultural and educational level of the workers has facilitated the gradual eradication of traditional concepts and prejudices, national-ethnic dissensions, and religious-caste barriers. An important result and indicator of the progressive changes in the socio-psychological profile and value orientations of the industrial workers under the influence of contemporary sociocultural factors is the weakening of tribal, ethnic ties, the role of traditional types of associations, and, in contrast, the strengthening among the workers of the need to unite on a different--a professional, social, and political--basis.

Together with the general modernization of the sociocultural and socio-psychological profile of the industrial workers, an important role from the viewpoint of future prospects for the proletarian movement has been played by the appearance of the stratum of skilled workers having a secondary education and a comparatively high level of modern culture. Thus, under the new conditions the prerequisites have been created for a conscious reception of the socialist ideology; prospects have been opened up for raising the class consciousness of the proletariat and its more active participation in the struggle for radical socioeconomic and political

changes. At the same time there has been an increase in the opportunities for increasing the workers' role in the activities of the trade unions and other organizations, as well as for providing their leadership staffs with a proletarian composition.

* * *

The data cited above testify to the fact that over the last 20 or 30 years in practically all the developing countries of Asia and Africa there has been a more or less substantial increase in the indicators reflecting the average level of skills, education, and culture of the principal mass of industrial workers and especially of the new members of the modern industrial proletariat. Nevertheless, this general conclusion hardly signifies that the indicated process has affected in equal measure all categories and groups of factory-plant, construction, and transport workers. If during the colonial period the proletariat consisted primarily of unskilled, illiterate migrant workers, while the stratum of permanent workers was very thin, nowadays the composition and structure of the industrial proletariat has become much more complex and diverse. This has exerted a diverse and contradictory influence on the process of the formation of the working class.

The unevenness of technical progress, which manifests itself so markedly in various branches of production and also at different types of enterprises in each branch has led to a unique differentiation among the proletariat with respect to the levels of skills, education, knowledge, etc. Of course, in practically all sectors of factory-plant industry in the African and Asian countries we can observe a parallel development of large-scale and small-scale enterprises, supplied up-to-date equipment and primitive working tools, with differing levels of concentration and specialization of production. Therefore, along with the average indicators, which testify to the general rise in the level of skills and education of the basic mass of workers, we must also consider other data which bear witness to the fact that this process is accompanied not by a smoothing out but rather by an intensification of the differences in the respective characteristics of individual groups of the proletariat.

Even more serious are the consequences of the "social dilution" and differentiation of the working class as to the level of socioeconomic maturity. As was pointed out above, under the conditions of industrialization, the changes in the technical profile of the older sectors of production and the rise of up-to-date ones, together with the appearance of new industrial centers, production groups are formed from extremely diverse social elements. Among them are persons from the families of peasants, artisans, traders, petty bourgeoisie, and middle-class strata. There has been an increase in the role played by proletarian families themselves, but the children of regular workers still comprise a definite minority of the members of the industrial proletariat today. The effect of "diluting" the industrial proletariat with migrant workers from a non-proletarian environment is felt all the more markedly in that the regular workers as well, having firmly linked their destinies with modern industry, still retain close social and everyday contacts with the village and with small-scale businesses in the cities.

The social, everyday, and material ties of most workers with the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the middle-class urban strata exert quite an influence on the process of the formation, social psychology, behavior, and value orientations

of significant strata of the industrial proletariat. If, furthermore, we take into consideration the fact that the increasing complexity of the vocational-skills structure of the modern industrial proletariat has led to a noticeable differentiation among individual groups of workers with respect to wage-rate levels, the nature and conditions of work and everyday life, then it becomes obvious that in the first stages of industrialisation there appeared a tendency toward a temporary intensification of the general socio-vocational heterogeneity of the proletariat and that the well-known prerequisites were created for introducing alien elements into its class consciousness.

The constant filling up of the ranks of the proletariat with persons originating from the petty bourgeoisie of the cities and villages explains, to a large extent, the vitality of property-owning "ideals" and prejudices, the striving of certain workers to create their own small businesses, to break into the ranks of the "independent bosses." It is notable that the striving toward ownership of a business and even small-scale enterprise has become most widespread mainly among the better-paid, skilled, and trained workers. The swelling influx into the ranks of the proletariat on the part of young people from the middle-class strata, who are characterized by a traditional feeling of their own superiority over simple laborers, may lead, under certain conditions, to a certain separation of the highly skilled and better-paid workers from the basic mass of proletarians.

The complication of the socio-vocational composition of modern industrial workers, leading to a differentiation among the value orientations and specific interests of individual groups and divisions of the proletariat, poses anew the problem of the unity of the working class. The development of a strategy and tactics for the labor movement now requires more attentive consideration to all the traits of the formation, composition, and socioeconomic position of various divisions of the proletariat. It would be incorrect, however, to absolutize the tendency toward the intensification of the social heterogeneity of the industrial proletariat and, furthermore, to draw a conclusion concerning the inevitability of the appearance of a stratum of a workers' aristocracy in the countries of Asia and Africa.

The position of workers at an enterprise changes in the process of vocational and skills mobility: many illiterates are taught how to read and write, acquire a skill, and obtain a better-paid job. Trade unions and the workers themselves attentively keep track of things, so that as they acquire more experience, knowledge, and skills, and as their work seniority increases, there is also a corresponding raise in their wage rates. Temporary workers use all their efforts to enroll themselves in the permanent staff of an enterprise. The differences in the workers' social origins clearly fade into the background as they are transformed into regular proletarians. And, in contrast, all the workers are united by belonging to an exploited class, standing in opposition to the owners of the means of production. The growth of the proletariat's concentration, the working conditions themselves in large enterprises, the subordination of all workers to a rigid production discipline, and the common shared quality of their fates within the framework of the contemporary capitalist industrial structure has, in conformity to principle, brought about the intensification of intra-class ties and created the prerequisites for strengthening the workers' solidarity and sense of organisation. The consolidation of the proletariat is facilitated by the joint actions of the workers and by their struggle to improve their economic and social position.

Thus, while not forgetting about the specifics of individual groups and divisions of workers linked with the historical past of the African and Asian countries, we should recognize the predominant tendency toward a class consolidation of the proletariat in these countries, based on modern-day, large-scale, industrial production.

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INTERNATIONAL

NEED TO ESTABLISH NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 19-26 Apr 81 p 7

[Interview with Erik Pletnyov, D. Sc. (Economics): "Reality or Utopia?"]

[Text] One of today's most prominent issues is that of a new international economic order.

Erik Pletnyov, D. Sc. (Economics), sets out the reasons why in this MOSCOW NEWS interview.

MN: Before talking about a new international economic order wouldn't it be best to first establish why the "old" order is bad?

E. P.: This is the core of the issue. What is being demanded are new--i.e., fairer--economic relations between the developing countries and the West. This demand emerged because of the injustice which existed for so long between colonies and the metropolis. The countries that liberated themselves from direct colonial dependence are also trying to eliminate the leftovers of colonialism in trade and other fields of international economic relations.

MN: Judging by the persistence of the developing countries in working for the establishment of a new international economic order, they consider it very important.

E. P.: Yes, the unequal relations between the developing world and the United States and other Western countries directly threaten the developing countries' independence. The world community should help them obtain genuine independence--and not just in word alone, but a reality. It was because of this, for example, that last week in New York UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim again called on the world to step up the search for practical ways to restructure international economic relations on a just, democratic basis.

Responsibility for the fact that we have not managed to even begin talks on this question, either within the UN context or in any other form, is completely that of certain Western countries, primarily the United States, which continue their economic plunder of the newly free countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

MN: And, we must emphasize, there are even attempts to substantiate this theoretically. Professor von Hayek, an economist currently fashionable in the

West, thinks unequal economic relations are "not a sad, but quite a fortunate phenomenon". As he recently said, "I wouldn't give a pfennig to the governments of the developing countries".

E. P.: We see the problem differently. The restructuring of economic relations on a democratic and equal basis is natural and necessary. Leonid Brezhnev again reminded the world of our fundamental policy on this issue at the 26th CPSU Congress.

MN: I suppose it would be in place to cite the relevant section in the Report in full: "Restructuring international economic relations on a democratic foundation, along lines of equality, is natural from the point of view of history. Much can and must be done in this respect. And, certainly, the issue must not be reduced, as this is sometimes done, simply to distinctions between 'rich North' and 'poor South'. We are prepared to contribute, and are indeed contributing, to the establishment of equitable international economic relations".

And if we translate this formula into the language of reality, what are those features of the USSR's economic cooperation with the developing countries that you could mention first?

E. P.: The USSR is assisting the developing countries in establishing their own economic base. This is probably central. Another feature is that the products exported to the USSR are not encumbered by any tariffs. This cannot be said of any capitalist country, even though there has been so much talk about the "North-South" dialogue.

The Calamity Is Far More Dangerous Than the West Claims

MN: True enough, there is a lot of talk about this issue in the West. Von Hayek is, of course, an extreme. Many Western scholars are really concerned about the problem. However, one gets the impression that Western experts prefer to accent the bad situation of many of the developing countries and the diagnosis of the disease rather than the treatment.

E. P.: And they sometimes do so for a definite masochistic reason, which makes sense because of the social content contained in it. The working class and the trade unions have to be frightened and fooled, and convinced that no matter what, working people in the West are better off than thousands of millions in the developing world. Once people swallow this line, the poverty is all in the "equatorial South", and the "North" is sitting pretty.

MN: But the "South" really is in very dire straits.

E. P.: More than that, the calamity is far more dangerous and grave than the West claims. It concerns hundreds of millions of people living in mounting poverty.

MN: At the recent seminar at the UN Institute for Training and Research you warned that this gap between the developing "South" and the capitalist "North" will widen.

E. P.: Yes, unless this harmful trend is stopped.

MN: The developing countries are aiming at an annual seven per cent increase in their GNP. Is this enough to close or at least narrow the gap?

E. P.: I don't think so. Because the capitalist economy is not standing still either.

At a certain moment the situation could favour the developing countries possessing natural resources such as fuel. But a favourable market situation can be offset by something else, and whoever suddenly rose to riches might just as suddenly return to rags again.

And even a favourable market situation in itself may be full of hidden dangers. For example, today's demand for raw materials, metals and fuels is to a great extent related to the latest round in the arms race and weapons building. The military machine gobbles up a quarter of all the fuel expended in the world! And militarism is one of the main causes of inflation, which reduces much of the developing countries' incomes.

Everyone 'For', But...

MN: Let us return to the problem of establishing a new, fairer international economic order. It is generally assumed that the idea originated in 1964 at the 2nd Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries. But some people ascribe its birth to 1974, when the problem first came up for discussion at the UN. But we could point out that it was in the 1920s when the USSR made the first attempt to found its foreign economic relations on the democratic principles of equality and mutuality.

E. P.: I think that this idea of Lenin's is quite topical.

At the same time, the idea of a new international economic order belongs, in a narrower sense, to a later date. Today it is customary to envisage this programme as involving a practical plan of joint action by independent states which emerged from the ruins of the classical colonial system.

MN: What do you think typifies this programme today? It has obviously evolved over the years.

E. P.: Changes have even occurred in terminology. When the programme was in its formative stage, people spoke of world economic relations; now the word is international. The important point is not the words, but the meaning behind them.

At first, the talk was of changing the entire world system of economic relations between countries and within them. Today the term primarily signifies the restructuring of foreign economic relations alone.

New Factors

MN: At the same time the idea of a new international economic order emerged, the West came forth with doctrines such as "interdependence", "free access to sources of raw materials", etc. Was this a response to the changing picture of the world?

E. P.: Yes. These theories are aimed at keeping the "South" within the "North's" economic framework as a hewer of wood and drawer of water.

International capitalism and the transnational corporations are continuing to build up their own order in their own interests and echoing themselves. They are creating their own system of division of labour between the centres of capital accumulation and the raw materials periphery.

MN: Is it not then about time we spoke of a new stage in the relations between the industrialized and developing countries?

E. P.: Political economy's business is not to multiply stages. But some new factors have definitely become apparent. The developing countries have ceased to be simply suppliers of raw materials, fuel and food. What was most responsible for this change was the nature of the assistance they received from the socialist countries to help them industrialize. Competing with us, and in answer to us, the West began engaging in greater cooperation. Now the developing countries also export manufactureds.

I'd like to emphasize a related aspect. The question here is not only the quantity of aid, but the kind of aid. Industry has to be built in the interests of the developing countries conforming to their national plans and programmes so there would be genuine industrialization rather than a new form of exploiting the financial, material and manpower resources to the liking of the foreign owners of new industrial projects.

MN: You have already begun giving prescriptions....

E. P.: I would put it in a different way--advice offered to people in trouble.

The internal and external reasons for the current injustice are closely inter-related. The internal factors must not be forgotten. The only way the problem will ultimately be solved--and I am absolutely sure of this--is when as well as the purely economic aspects, the human factor, the primary wealth of the developing countries, is taken into account.

Practical Proposal

MN: What do you propose?

E. P.: As I see it, the school is the key to the gates of progress. By the year 2000, there will be a thousand million people of school age in the developing world--probable schoolchildren. I hope that all of them will be able to go to school. This will not only solve the problem of unemployment in the developing

countries, it would also abate it in the capitalist "North". The creation of a school system throughout these many countries will demand millions of teachers, builders, educators and specialists in child diets. This will not be a boom in building missiles or tanks. It would be a productive boom for many years ahead. The fulfillment of a programme of this kind will demand extensive international cooperation by both East and West with the "South".

MN: The natural question is where will the money for such a programme on so wide a scale come from?

E. P.: If you wouldn't have asked me, I'd have asked it myself--how much will this cost? Where is the money to come from? People should be required to think about the problem, required to start counting, i.e., to approach the question seriously.

Now, about the money. First, the USSR's proposal that the permanent members of the UN Security Council reduce their military budgets still stands. We suggest that part of the money subsequently saved be used to assist the developing countries. All the countries who are overdoing it on military spending should be compelled to follow suit. The money saved would be colossal--global military spending is now over 500,000 million dollars annually. And, then, what government would dare refuse to subsidize this kind of humanistic project?

MN: Don't you feel this project has elements of utopia?

E.P.: My proposal is supported by history.

The USSR advanced on just this road. Look at our development programme--industrialization, collectivization and cultural revolution. And it really all began with the cultural revolution--elimination of illiteracy and cultural emptiness, the establishment of a democratic general school system of higher education and specialist training at all levels for the new, socialist economy. This was the road we covered. And we did it in the shortest possible time.

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INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN CRITICS OF SOVIET LANGUAGE POLICY DENOUNCED

MOSCOW NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 103-110

/Article by Professor M. A. Abdullayev, doctor of philosophy: 'The Groundlessness of the Bourgeois 'Concepts of Assimilation' of the Languages of the Ethnic Minorities in the USSR'./

/Text/ Within the ideological arsenal of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism an important place is occupied by falsification of the principles of the development of the languages of the USSR's ethnic minorities. It is subordinated to the over-all strategic goal of anti-communism--to discredit the theory and practice of socialism and thereby to hinder the growth in popularity of its ideas as well as the orientation of progressive sociopolitical ideas to it. "Imperialism," noted L. I. Brezhnev, "cannot count on success by openly proclaiming its actual goals. It is compelled to create a whole system of myths, obscuring the real meaning of its intentions and lulling the vigilance of the peoples" (Brezhnev, L. I., *Leninism in Our Time: Rechi i stat'i* (Following the Leninist Course: Speeches and Articles), vol 2, p 400). In connection with the fact that imperialist propaganda is becoming more and more refined, L. I. Brezhnev in his Summary Report at the 25th CPSU Congress pointed out the need for an uncompromising, persistent struggle against anti-communism. We must give, he stated, "an up-to-date rebuff to hostile ideological diversions" ("Materialy XXV s'ezda KPSS" (Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress), Moscow, 1976, p 74). One such diversion is the concept of linguistic assimilation, which is part of the general anti-communist concept of the assimilation of the non-Russian peoples by Russians.

This concept has undergone a definite evolution. New and mutually exclusive tendencies have begun to appear within it, while, to a considerable extent, even the principal object of the falsification is changing. Falsification of the prospects for development of the languages of the ethnic minorities has become a characteristic of the anti-communist interpretations of the language problem. "The Central Asian nationalities want and insist on continuing the existence of their present separate ethnic identities, and the Russians are unwilling or unable to force a further Russification of the Central Asians" declares R. Barrett ("The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia," Ed. by Edward Allworth, New York--Washington--London, 1973, pp 33-34). R. Wixman seconds him by stating that "their levels of linguistic assimilation also remained very low." But among the ethnic minorities of the USSR, in the words of this same Wixman, there is a "high rate of linguistic assimilation" (Ibid, p 76).

The political point of departure for the basic concept of linguistic assimilation is the old myth that in the USSR a policy of ethnic and linguistic Russification is being carried out with regard to the non-Russian nationalities. Soviet language policy, asserts T. Wagner, proceeds from the ideological concept of the drawing close together of nationalities with their final merger, which will lead to an elimination of all the languages in the Soviet Union except Russian (See: SLAVIC REVIEW, 1974, No 4, p 840).

It should be emphasized that within the anti-communist literature there is no generally recognized concept of linguistic assimilation and its components. If we summarize the utterances of the defenders of this concept, then this concept would include the following four elements: 1) an acknowledgement by non-Russians of Russian as their native language; 2) a good knowledge of the Russian language, i.e., its conversion into a second native language; 3) the introduction of an alphabet based on the Cyrillic alphabet and the Russian language as the language of instruction; 4) the influence of the Russian language on the native languages. The anti-communists provide their own interpretations for each of these elements.

Non-Russians who have given some language other than that of their own nationality as their native language are included by the anti-communists without any qualification among those who have been Russified, although they well know that far from all these people have the Russian language in mind. There are quite a few instances where the native language is considered to be the language of that nation or that nationality among which the members of the non-Russian nationalities are living. As regards those who have given Russian as their native language, there were 10 million of them among the non-Russians according to the 1959 Census, while there were 13 million according to the 1970 Census. Over an 11-year period the number of persons in this category increased insignificantly. It occurred by virtue of the voluntary study of the language of international exchange, and not because of any policy of the forceful imposition of the Russian language. Undoubtedly, among the ethnic minorities the percentage of those who give Russian as their native language is higher than that among the large nations, and this is explained by a number of reasons. Thus, according to the 1970 Census, among the Evenki such people comprise 16.5 percent, the Khanty--30.5, Chukchi--16.9, the Nanay--30.6, the Mansi--47.4, the Nganasan--24.1, the Yukagiry--35.7, whereas among the Uzbeks the corresponding figure is 0.5 percent, Kazakhs--1.6, Azerbaijanis--0.1, Georgians--1.4, Tajiks--0.6 (See: "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g"/Results of the All-Union Census of the Population for 1970, Moscow, 1973, Vol 4, pp 20--21. Computations by the author). The efforts of the anti-communists to relegate those who give Russian as their native language to the Russian nationality are completely unfounded. "A non-Russian who has assimilated Russian as his native language," asserts R. Lewis, "despite individual differences, has become Russified" ("Soviet Nationality Problems," Ed by E. Allworth, New York, 1971, p 15). The author of these lines completely ignores all the other criteria of ethnic membership of peoples except for language.

Such an ignoring of the other criteria of ethnic membership is criticized even by bourgeois scholars themselves. Thus, Wixman writes as follows: "While the loss of the native language does not signify complete assimilation, it does reflect a strong influence by another ethnic group...." ("The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia," p 74). In this case we may speak about the assimilation or the

falling away of one criterion of a person's national membership, if, of course, he has not torn himself away from his native culture, psychology, traditions, and everyday customs. Moreover, we can speak only about the linguistic assimilation of individual members of non-Russian ethnic groups, and not about ethnic groups on the whole, which, as a rule, have all the conditions for their own socioethnic development, including their languages.

In the dissemination of the Russian language among non-Russians, in particular, among the ethnic minorities, the anti-communists see the chief indicator of Russification, which is presumably being carried out in a planned manner. "Assimilation must occur by means of creating a Russian linguistic milieu," writes Vardis (THE RUSSIAN REVIEW, 1965, No 4, p 324). "Language is an objective indicator of cultural assimilation" (Barghoorn, F.C. "Soviet Russian Nationalism," New York, 1946, p 96).

In striving to at least somehow provide grounds for their assertions, the above-mentioned anti-communists refer to the materials of the population censuses in the USSR. In fact, the percentage of those who speak Russian fluently among the non-Russian nationalities, particularly among the ethnic minorities, has grown from year to year, but this cannot serve as a confirmation of the fact that a policy of enforced Russification is being conducted in the USSR, nor that the ethnic minorities are being assimilated by the Russians. If we proceed from this criterion, then all those people who speak Russian fluently must be considered as Russified. And in such a case there are indeed a great many of them. According to the 1970 Census, they comprised from 40 to 70 percent. The highest percentage of those who speak Russian fluently occurs among the Abasins (69.5), Karachayevtay (67.7), Adygeytay (67.9), Ingushey (71.2). If language is the sole or even the main criterion of national membership then in such a case all those who know the English language are Englishmen, those who know German are Germans, Turkish-Turks, and so forth, while those who have mastered several languages are members of several nations at the same time. However, none of the anti-communists asserts any such thing.

The widespread dissemination of the Russian language among the ethnic minorities is explained by the characteristics of their cultural development. Living on the ethno-administrative territories of these peoples are several indigenous minority nationalities (for example, in Dagestan there are more than 30 of them), whose language is poor in its lexical makeup. Because of this, the languages of such nationalities cannot serve as a means for their acquiring modern science and culture. As a result, even where in the past there was a single nationality, it is impossible under such conditions to have an international commonality or instruction in schools and higher educational institutions without a common language, or an acquisition of world culture. Thus, the interests of the development of the small ethnic groups as well as everyday life impels them to study Russian as the language of international exchange. Hence, the high percentage of those who speak Russian fluently among the ethnic minorities.

The choice of the language of instruction and its study in the USSR comprise a voluntary matter for each citizen. Instruction in Russian as early as the primary schools in a number of regions of Dagestan has been introduced even with one nationality upon the request of the inhabitants themselves. However, the

dissemination of the Russian language can lead neither to the disappearance of native languages nor to their assimilation. Local languages function and are being developed in the autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs of the USSR; textbooks and literature are published in them, exchanges are conducted, and shows are staged. Almost all the poets and writers of the ethnic minorities who have gained All-Union and world recognition write their works in their own native languages.

It should be emphasized that a knowledge of a second language, namely, Russian, is of enormous importance for sharing primarily in the culture of the great Russian people. Sociological investigations conducted by Soviet scholars in Tataria, Udmurtia, Karelia, and in other autonomous republics indicate that the higher the social and occupational status of people, the more frequently, as a rule, is their use of and fluency in a second language (Russian). If among various types of rural Karelian workers questioned 20.2 percent spoke Russian fluently, among highly skilled specialists the corresponding figure was 65.9 percent (Bruk, B. I. and Guboglo, M. N., "Factors in the Dissemination of Bi-Lingualism among the Peoples of the USSR," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1975, No 5, p 21). The investigations also testify to the fact that among the ethnic minorities a great penchant for the Russian language was noted. Expressing themselves in favor of instruction being conducted in their native languages in primary schools were the following: 69 percent of the Dolgans, 46 percent of the Evenki, 39.5 percent of the Kety, 26 percent of the Khanty, 22 percent of the Mansi, 18.5 percent of the Sel'kupy, 16 percent of the Nenets, and 12.5 percent of the Nganasan (See: VOPROSY YAZYKOZNANIYA, 1970, No 1, pp 40-41). In Dagestan and in Checheno-Ingushetiya not a single parent is to be found who would not wish instruction to be given in Russian in the primary school. Moreover, an absolute majority of those questioned consider it necessary that the native language be taught in schools as a special subject.

The widespread dissemination of the Russian language among the ethnic minorities and the expansion of its social function do not mean that the functions of the native languages are dying out. There exists a unique kind of division of labor among languages. Research conducted among the lumber workers of the Komi ASSR has indicated that in the production sphere Russian is used by 62.8 percent of the Komi. In the exchanges of their everyday, family lives they use their native language much more. Some 59.3 percent speak only the Komi language at home, while 14.8 percent use Komi and Russian in equal measure (See: Belorukova, G. P., "Lumber Workers of the Komi ASSR," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1973, No 5, p 37). Hence, the Tatar writer R. Mustafin is correct when he writes that "within the process of life itself it has come about that Russian and the national languages have marked out the spheres of their usage. In the fields of science, technology, and industrial production the Russian language is completely dominant. But in the sphere of everyday life, in the sphere of national culture, the Tatar language occupies, and for a long time to come will continue to occupy, the dominant position" (LITERATURA I ZHIZN', 1962, 24 August).

And this may be boldly asserted about the functions of Russian and the native languages of all the ethnic minorities. Proceeding from this, the Soviet linguists A. T. Baziyev and M. I. Isayev have drawn the conclusion that "under the conditions of bi-lingualism a linguistic community of several nations and nationalities can be formed on the basis of two languages" (Baziyev, A. T. and Isayev, M. I., "Yazyk i natsiya" /Language and the Nation/, Moscow, 1973, p 86). Moreover, the native language continues to bear the function of national differentiation,

whereas the Russian language facilitates the internationalization of life among the peoples. Thus, we observe not a falling away of the linguistic criterion but its specific manifestation under the conditions of bi-lingualism.

Actually, the obliteration of linguistic differences is a thing of the very remote future. Research has established, writes L. N. Zherebtsov, that in the Altay Kray among a small group of Siberian Komi who have already been living in a Russian environment for 100 years in isolation from other Komi groups the language and folklore have been preserved without any substantial changes (Zherebtsov, L. N., "On the Degree of Persistence of Elements of Komi Folk Culture in a Foreign Cultural Environment," in the collection: "Ethnografiya i fol'klor Komi" /Komi Ethnography and Folklore/, Syktyvkar, 1972, p 74). The same thing could be said about the inhabitants of the villages Chirakh and Megeb in Dagestan; they have lived together with other nationalities for at least three centuries. However, one must be extremely careful in picturing to oneself the difference between these individual members of native peoples who have been brought up in mixed families or have been since childhood in a Russian environment and hence have not mastered their own language and a nationality which dwells more or less compactly on its own ethnic territory.

As is known, national languages are a means of developing national cultures. But the possibilities of languages (with old writing systems, new ones, or none at all) in this regard are not identical. They cannot develop science, culture, and art in equal measure. To a considerable extent, this has been conditioned by the existing differences in the level of the national culture's development. There is neither the possibility nor any practical need to even out the level of functional development of all written languages. Where the languages of the ethnic minorities lag behind the rate of accumulating a volume of information or in specific characteristics of science and culture the Russian language acts as a supplementary, and in a number of cases even the principal, means of developing the national culture. Thus, the communicative limitedness and relative narrowness of the functional possibilities of the languages of the ethnic minorities are overcome.

And Yu. D. Desheriyev is perfectly correct in emphasising that in the process of evening out the level of political, economic, and cultural development of the peoples of the USSR an enormous role has been played by various types of bi-lingualism, especially that consisting of a national language and Russian. "As special studies have shown," he writes, "in order to master various spheres of culture, many nations and nationalities need bi-lingualism in their development; about 80 nationalities experience the need for bi-lingualism in pre-school training and in primary education, while more than 110 nationalities need bi-lingualism in secondary education, and approximately 115 require bi-lingualism in higher education and in mastering science and technology" (Desheriyev, Yu. D., "National Languages under Conditions of a Developed Socialist Society" in the collection "Sotsializm i natsii" /Socialism and Nations/, Moscow, 1975, p 188).

In connection with this we consider it necessary to dwell on yet another aspect of this question. Under conditions of the mutual enrichment of cultures, including languages as well, national characteristics may be reflected in works written in either the native language or in Russian. Practical experience has shown that a national literature may exist in a language other than the native language. And can we really consider as non-national the works of the Chukchi Rytkeu, the

Mansi Sheatalov, the Nivkha Bangi, the Darginets Abu-Bakar, the Nanayets Khodsher, and others, who have written in Russian? These writers have thoroughly studied their own national customs and way of life and have vividly expressed what is national in the Russian language. It is well known that V. I. Lenin ascribed great importance to the acquisition of the Russian language by non-Russian peoples. He wrote as follows: "We are, of course, in favor of every inhabitant of Russia having the opportunity to study the great Russian language. There is only one thing we do not want, and that is the element of /compulsion/ /in italics/ (Lenin, V. I. "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Collected Works/, vol 24, p 295). And the CPSU has strictly adhered to the principle of voluntarism in its language policy.

In order to provide grounds for the concept of linguistic assimilation, anti-communists make broad use of other factors as well. They assert that all the "Muslim" peoples of the USSR had writing systems and that, in order to justify its own attempt to "liquidate" the national languages, the Soviet regime, as it were, proclaimed these peoples to be without writing systems. Let us say right off that Marxists do not deny that many (but not all!) Muslim peoples adapted the Arabic writing system to the phonetic traits of their own languages and created their own national writing systems. It is well known that prior to the October Revolution the people of Chechено-Ingusheti, for example, did not have their own writing system. They acquired it precisely under the Soviet regime. To state that all the "Muslim" peoples on the territory of the USSR had their own writing systems means simply to lie, and this is what the anti-communists have done.

In the publications of the bourgeois authors a great deal of attention is devoted to the problem of the alphabet of the USSR's "Muslim" peoples. They attempt to view the transition of these peoples from the Arabic to the Cyrillic alphabets as a striving on the part of the Soviet regime to "destroy" the cultural commonality of the "Muslim" peoples of the USSR with the peoples of the Arabic and Turkic East. The anti-communists assert that the Arabic alphabet, which was used by all the Muslim peoples, was at first replaced by the Latin alphabet, but then, when the Turks also converted to the Latin alphabet, the Latin was, in turn, replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet. Moreover, it is asserted that this was carried out not voluntarily but in an enforced manner.

Indeed it is true that the Arabic alphabet was used by all the Muslim peoples, including the peoples of the Soviet East. But the graphic system of Arabic writing had inherently serious shortcomings. "Of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet," write A. T. Bazihev and M. I. Isayev, "only 16 have independent shapes; the remainder are distinguished from each other by all manner of diacritical marks; these cannot help but complicate their adoption and printing. Furthermore, almost all the letters have two or three ways of being written, depending upon their position in a word: in the beginning, middle, or end. There are only three letters to depict vowel sounds in the basic alphabet. The complexity of instruction was one of the main reasons why, during the first few years of the Soviet regime, the elimination of illiteracy among the peoples with Arabic writing systems was conducted at an extremely slow pace" (Bazihev, A. T. and Isayev, M. I., "Yazyk i natsiya" /Language and the Nation/, p 110).

The non-adaptability of the Arabic alphabet for serving the languages of other countries was noted long before the October Revolution. Thus, Mirza Hasem-Bek in Petersburg, Mirza Fatali Akhundov in Azerbaijan, N. Mal'kushan in Iran, and

Mirza-Gasan Alkadari in Dagestan as far back as the third quarter of the 19th century had demonstrated the need for reforming the Arabic alphabet. Such a reform was promulgated, the consonants were made more precise, and vowel letters were introduced. The revised alphabet went into effect in the USSR prior to 1926. But even in such a form it was difficult; this has been acknowledged even by our ideological opponents. "...This complicated writing system was poorly adapted to the needs of a broad campaign against illiteracy. What was needed was a simpler and easier alphabet" (See: "Soviet Education." Ed. by G. L. Kline. London, 1957, p 135).

Nevertheless, the question of replacing the Arabic alphabet by the Latin one was decided not by decree but by the First All-Union Turkological Congress, which was held in Baku in 1926. This Congress recognized the predominant advantages of the Latin alphabet, but, adhering to the principles of Soviet democracy, it noted in its resolution that "the introduction of the new alphabet should be a matter for each republic and each people." Different republics converted to this alphabet at different times (1926--1929). In order to work out a unified alphabet for all the peoples of the Soviet East, a Central Committee for a New Turkic Alphabet was created in 1926 at the above-mentioned congress; in 1930 this committee was reorganized as the All-Union Central Committee for a New Alphabet under the USSR TselK (VTsKNA). Consequently, the Soviet government did not seek out different variants of alphabets for the Turkic peoples and did not strive to split them up, as certain anti-communists have written. The transition to an alphabet based on Cyrillic was carried out in the autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus during the years 1936--1937 upon their own wishes. The creation of a national writing system based on the Cyrillic alphabet facilitated the mastery of the Russian writing system and hence also the study of the Russian language, which was necessary as a language of international exchange for all the peoples of the USSR. At a session of the Bureau of the Adygey Oblast Committee of the VKP (b) in providing grounds for the request to convert the Adygey alphabet to the Russian writing system it was noted that this conversion "would bring the Adygey people closer to the revolutionary culture of the great Russian people" ("Adygey Cultural Construction /1922--1937/"; "Sbornik dokumentov i materialov" /Collected Documents and Materials/. Maykop, 1958, p 366).

The anti-Soviets themselves were compelled to recognize the advantages of the new alphabet. "The advantages of an orthography in Cyrillic," writes K. G. Menges, "consist basically in its great multi-facetedness, which proceeds from the fact that its alphabet has more letters than the Latin alphabet and that, therefore, fewer diacritical marks are required than in the Latin transcription or transliteration" (See: "Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule." Ed by E. Allworth, New York--London, 1967, p 81).

It should be noted that the use by the Turkic-speaking peoples of the USSR of the Russian writing system and the use by the Turkish people of the Latin alphabet did not lead to their cultural dissociation, as the anti-communists have asserted. Cultural unity is caused basically not by linguistic but by socioeconomic relations. The Latin alphabet and the alphabet based on Cyrillic are not really so different from each other since they have a common root (the Ancient Greek alphabet). After finishing secondary school, all students as a rule, are capable of reading texts in the Latin alphabet, inasmuch as they have studied Western European languages.

Therefore, the young members of the Turkic-speaking peoples of our country are able without any particular difficulty to read literature in the Turkish language, which is printed in the Latin alphabet.

The anti-communists have also falsified the work of Soviet linguists aimed at creating standardized alphabets for the Turkic languages of the peoples of the USSR. In 1959 an All-Union Conference was held, devoted to the questions of working out sociopolitical, scientific and technical, educational-pedagogical, and linguistic terminology. Also posed at this conference was the question of improving and perfecting the orthography of the literary (written) languages of the peoples of the USSR. In the conference's recommendations it was emphasised that "in creating new terms we should, in the first place, make full use of the lexical stock of the specific language and its word-forming possibilities, in the second place, in cases of necessity borrow appropriate international and Russian terms which are more widespread and popular among the people than little-understood, unsuccessfully created terms from the indirect lexical material of the specific language" ("Voprosy terminologii" [Problems of Terminology], Moscow, 1961, p 227). The anti-communists, falsifying the work done to implement these recommendations in an anti-Soviet vein see in it nationalistic, anti-Russian aspirations. In connection with the fact that insignificant orthographic changes have been introduced into the alphabets of the Eastern peoples of our country, bourgeois Sovietologists cherish the hope that "the ever-increasing tendency to break away from the Russian alphabet may acquire a political significance" (Wheeler, G., "Racial Problems in Soviet Muslim Asia." London, 1960, p 33). As A. Pronyk asserts, "the 1960's were marked by strenuous efforts on the part of the local intelligentsia to restore the purity of national traditions." Referring to scholarly conferences on non-Russian languages and arbitrarily interpreting the speeches by Soviet scholars at them, she asserts that the goal of these conferences was "to correct the erroneous policies of the past that caused local words to be systematically replaced by Russian terms" ("The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia," p 125).

It is interesting to note that the Western ideologists acting in the role of well-wishers of the Eastern peoples of the USSR for some reason do not trouble themselves at all about the fact that in the countries of the non-Soviet East, where the alphabets have not undergone any changes whatsoever, more than half of the population are illiterate to this very day and that the doors of higher educational institutions are closed to the children of working people. Nor are they interested in the well-known fact that the languages of the national minorities (Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Turkmen, etc.), living in the multi-national countries of the East are not used in the printing of books, journals, or newspapers, nor is instruction carried on in their native languages.

During the years of the Soviet regime an army of highly qualified linguists has grown up in the republics of the Soviet East; they are capable of solving the pertinent scholarly questions without having recourse to the aid of Western "well-wishers." It should be emphasised that Russian scholars played an enormous role in creating a writing system for the peoples of the North and the other ethnic minorities of the USSR. Writing systems were created for those peoples of the USSR which had none. Prior to the October Revolution out of 130 peoples of tsarist Russia only 20 had their own writing systems.

The anti-communists have attempted to demonstrate that the Soviet regime is attempting to eliminate or to replace the local languages with Russian. "...the Russification of local languages," writes R. Conquest, "is a means of introducing Russian culture" (Conquest, R., "Soviet Nationality Policy in Practice," London, 1967, p 202). Tendentiously analyzing the literature in the languages of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus and the Volga Region, the anti-communists assert that the enrichment of these languages has occurred, so to speak, at the expense of introducing Russian words and terms. At the same time the national languages are presumably being "purified" of Arabic and Persian terms and expressions, as well as of many words which are purely national in their origin. Scientific terminology of Eastern derivation which had been formed over the centuries was, supposedly, being driven out of the local languages in a determined manner, while new formations based on it were being prohibited along with equivalents in the national language. "Russian loan-words," writes A. Bennigsen, "have now become so widespread that a complete knowledge of the national languages is no longer possible without a mastery of Russian" ("Russia and Asia," Stanford /Calif./, 1972, p 163). And certain Turkish anti-communists have asserted that the local languages in general have lost their importance.

These slanderous concoctions bear witness that the anti-communists are trying to hunt out all manner of facts which might be utilized for their own dirty purposes. Nobody gave orders for the linguists to replace the scientific terminology of Eastern origin with Russian terms, and nothing like this has occurred in practice. Of course, the enrichment of the local languages has proceeded, in the first place, by means of the Russian language, which has been more intensively developed, and international terms have made the transition to these languages through Russian. But the local languages have also been enriched by means of utilizing their own internal resources and assimilating the jargons of occupational lexicons.

Even certain bourgeois authors have been compelled to recognize the beneficial influence of Russian on the development of many of the USSR's national languages. "In the vocabulary composition," writes E. Bacon, "loan-words occupy an important place, but most of them are essentially international terms which the Russians themselves took from abroad several decades ago, during the time of their own industrialisation. In short, linguistic changes do not signify the mass adoption of Russian culture" (Bacon, E., "Central Asians Under Russian Rule," Ithaca /N. Y./, 1966). In fact, through the language of international exchange there has occurred not a Russification but an internationalization of the scientific and sociopolitical terminology of the national languages of the Soviet Union; this naturally and in conformity with principle corresponds to the general trend toward the standardization of terms which are international in nature.

Our country's ethnic minorities, in effect, have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the achievements of the other peoples of the USSR, along with those of the peoples of the socialist, developing, and capitalist countries basically through the means of Russian and other languages adopted in international relations. To master the languages of all peoples (there are now more than 2,000 of them in the world) is impossible from a practical point of view. But under present-day conditions to be limited by the creation of "one's local culture," based solely on the functional possibilities of one's native language, means to remain on the sidelines of the development of world culture. Hence, our country's ethnic minorities should not only develop their own native languages in all possible ways, which is

guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, but also master the Russian language even more completely. It is not by chance that more than 75 percent of our country's population has mastered the Russian language. It has become the language of international exchange and the means of internationalizing all aspects of the life of Soviet peoples, a means of sharing with other countries in the international arena. What has been said bears convincing testimony to the fact that the USSR does not conduct a policy of assimilating ethnic minorities and their languages. On the contrary, it is here for the first time in the history of mankind that genuine conditions for their free development have been created.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK REVIEWS POST-REVOLUTION REFORMS IN AFGHANISTAN

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 81 p 5

[Review by V. Kassis of the book "120 dney v Kabule" (120 Days in Kabul) by B. Mokrousov. Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Pravda," 1981]

[Text] The attention of all people of good will is drawn today to our southern neighbor--Afghanistan. And this is not by chance. In the CC CPSU Accountability Report which L. I. Brezhnev gave at the 26th congress of the CPSU, it is stressed that "imperialism unleashed a real, undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. This created a direct threat also to the security of our southern border. Such a situation forced us to offer military aid requested by a friendly country."

It is precisely due to this situation that it may be possible to explain the fact that any new comprehensive publication about today's democratic republic evokes the most steadfast interest. Today the work of Boris Mokrousov, "120 Days in Kabul," is appearing on the shelves of book stores. The author notes in the first chapter that the people's power in Afghanistan from the first days of the 1978 April revolution planned and set out to realize important socioeconomic reforms in the country. Among them--the destruction of feudal relations, the liquidation of all forms of exploitation, the fetters of despotism and backwardness, the realization of land reforms, an increase in the workers' standard of living, industrialization, a guarantee of the people's rights and freedoms, equality for women, the development of cultures of all nations and nationalities of the DRA.

Consistently, with knowledge of the matter and with rich material, B. Mokrousov in the course of further narration shows how these reforms are carried out in life, how they are put into practice. He is far from an excessive optimist; he also writes about the difficulties which the country must face. However, the results that the people have already achieved attest to the fact that the day will come when the numerous, complex tasks raised by the revolution will be resolved.

B. Mokrousov visited industrial factories and constructions, the countryside, met with artisans, school children, doctors and students. The book reads easily, is interesting and, it is believed, will be received with gratitude by the reader.

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INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

AFGHAN AMBASSADOR IN BAKU--For 3 days Khabib Mangal, the DRA's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in the USSR, was in the capital of Azerbaijan on a tour of our country. K.A. Khalilov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, received the Afghan ambassador. Khalilov familiarized the guest with the republic's achievements, the structure and activities of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, and with the work of its Presidium. T.A. Tairova, the minister of foreign affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, and R.S. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, took part in the discussion. The ambassador paid a visit to T.A. Tairova, the Azerbaijani Minister of Foreign Affairs, held talks in the Azerbaijani Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and in the republic Council for Affairs of Foreign Students. He was acquainted with the sights of Baku, visited the oil and gas extracting directorate imeni Serebrovskiy, the Palace of Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR, the Museum of the History of Azerbaijan, saw A. Badaleyliya's ballet "The Maiden's Tower" in the Academy Theater for opera and ballet imeni M.F. Akhundov. Kh. Mangal met with students from Afghanistan studying in educational institutions in Baku. On 12 April the DRA ambassador left for Odessa. [Text] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 14 Apr 81 p 1] [Azerinform]

TANZANIAN DELEGATION VISITS BAKU--A delegation of the National Assembly of the United Republic of Tanzania, headed by the assembly's speaker Adam Sapi Mkwawa, was in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They arrived in Baku on 18 April. Last Sunday the guests took a tour of Sumgait. At talks in the Sumgait gorispolkom, Z.A. Gadzhiev, the chairman, spoke about the city's history, its current and future development. The general plan for the construction of Sumgait interested the delegation's members. Participating in the discussion was Sh. M. Aliyev, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Sumgait gorkom party, who accompanied the delegation on its tour of the country. On 20 April the Tanzanian parliamentarians toured the oil and gas extracting directorate imeni Serebrovskiy, where they were familiarized with the technology of searching for, extracting and transporting oil and gas. In the evening the guests from Tanzania left for Vc! [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 21 Apr 81 pp 1, 2]

TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN BAKU--For 2 days, Erdshiment Yavuzal'p, Turkey's Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador to the USSR, was in Baku. He visited with T.A. Tairova, the Azerbaijani minister of foreign affairs. He was received by K.A. Khalilov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR. The Turkish ambassador spoke with G.N. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers, and T.A. Tairova, the Azerbaijani minister of foreign affairs, participated in the discussion. On 10 April the Turkish ambassador left Baku for Simferopol'. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 11 Apr 81 p 3]

REGIONAL

URBAN DEVELOPMENT RECOMMENDATIONS MADE FOR BELORUSSIAN CITIES

Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 18 Feb 81 p 2

[Article under the rubric 'Capital Construction' by V. Barvonov, chief of the Division of Scientific Research Projects and New Technology of the State Construction Committee of the Belorussian SSR: "Where Should the City Grow?"]

(Text) The tempestuous development of the creative forces of the country, the high rates of growth of cities and of urban population, and the variegated interrelated expansion of housing, cultural and domestic, and industrial construction all necessitate significant use of real estate. This had led, on the one hand, to the almost complete utilization of available urban land tracts, and on the other hand, to the increase of areas under urban construction at the cost of arable land areas belonging to suburban farms.

The preservation of arable land is an important objective of the state. It has been proposed as one of the ways of reaching this objective that flood-plain and marshy areas, which have insignificant agricultural value, be used widely for construction purposes.

The study of the urban construction situation in the Belorussian SSR conducted by the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of Urban Construction Planning has shown that from 20 to 30 percent of the entire land within the existing limits of Mogilev, Brest, Gomel and other cities consists of flood plain. As a rule these areas are not utilized and can serve as an excellent base for the development of many cities in the republic for many decades without reducing the area of arable land.

The inclusion of flood-plain and swampy areas in the urban development complex has other economic and social advantages: a lesser amount of old buildings will have to be leveled; and sanitary and plumbing conditions will be improved. The problem of regulating the course of rivers will also be solved, thereby bringing about reduction of damage by floods, and so forth.

Accordingly, the scientific and technical problem of the use of flood-plain areas for urban construction is one of great importance. A number of scientific and research institutions, along with designing institutes and construction organizations, worked on its solution during the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

There were conducted a series of projects within the framework of an especially planned scientific-technical program for the years 1976-1980, which resulted in the elaboration of a number of standardized documentary recommendations on the designing and construction of urban micro-developments, housing-units and community buildings in flood-plain areas, the technology of constructing flood-control barriers, and on the technology and construction of foundations. This research was conducted on a high scientific and technical level.

Scientific and technical data from the Institute of Construction and Architecture, the Scientific and Research Institute of Urban Construction, the Belorussian Polytechnical Institute, and of the Brest branch of the engineering and construction institute "Homel' hramadzyanprayekt" made possible the preparation for engineering construction of flood-plain areas in the republic totalling more than 1.5 thousand hectares, with the corresponding construction of around 250 thousand square meters of normal living space. It has been estimated that the overall savings because of the use of flood-plain areas in but four cities (Gomel', Mogilev, Brest, and Bobruisk) embracing an area of 2484 hectares will amount to 100 million rubles within the standard time-frame for recovery of expenditures due to capital investment.

Additionally, it is still necessary to solve a number of scientific and organizational problems connected with large-scale construction in flood-plain and marshy areas.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan it is necessary that scientific research institutes continue research on this problem and produce scientific support for written recommendations and instructions on construction in flood-plain areas, produce efficient structural components for foundations, conduct a whole gamut of experimental projects concerning the application of the principles of urban construction to areas that are naturally flood-plains.

It seems to us that it is necessary to draw up a plan with priorities and statements of volume in the designing and construction of housing, community, and recreational buildings and structures on such lands during the 11th Five-Year Plan. In this regard, it is necessary to bear in mind the concentration of construction and erection projects concerned with flood-control embankments in the system of the Ministry of Industrial Construction of the BSSR permits their completion at the necessary technological level within shorter time spans.

It is also appropriate that the appropriate organs consider and resolve questions regarding the financing and planning of projects, as well as actual work of construction and erection, for in many instances Ispolkoms reluctantly agree to the reclamation of flood-plain areas, inasmuch as specific capital investments for one square meter of regular living space on such lands is somewhat higher than on drier lands. In so doing they do not take into consideration those national economic advantages mentioned above.

It is believed that it would be appropriate that the following point be inserted into the draft of the Basic Directions: "More rational use of land areas, including the needs of construction" (in boldface).

REGIONAL

ARTICLE DEPLORES 'INITIATIVES' IMPOSED ON KOLKHOZES FROM ABOVE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by K. Aksenov: "Right to Initiative"]

[Text] After meeting with central farm milkmaids, N. Ostroumov, new director of "Tregubovo" sovkhoz, grew thoughtful. "We're fed up with working the old way," they had told him. "It's time to switch to two shifts."

The women were generally not employed on the farm for more than seven hours a day. They feed the cows, milk them...and leave. Moreover, all the basic operations are mechanized. But those seven hours drag by for the milkmaids. Three times a day, they have to go out to the cow barn from the house: early dawn to late in the evening.

Nikolay Nikolayevich is a fascinating person. Even when chief engineer at the sovkhoz, he created a school of innovators in the village. A dozen homemade machines and various attachments manufactured under his leadership have been used successfully for years on "Tregubovo" sovkhoz. Ostroumov has now gathered his specialists and taken on the "scheme" of new labor organization for the milkmaids.

Some time later, Chudovskiy Raykom First Secretary V. Tsalpan (now an obkom secretary) came to the sovkhoz. The director showed him his calculations. They indicated that 200 cows could be given to the care of a mechanized brigade consisting of nine people, cutting servicing personnel in half. In this regard, labor becomes narrowly specialized. Some must concern themselves solely with milking, others solely with preparing and distributing feed. It becomes possible to institute a seven-hour work day on the farm.

The new form of labor organization has required that we break with tradition and has affected interrelationships in the collective. A milkmaid is accustomed to answering for her own group of cows. Milkmaids were now faced with shifting to collective responsibility for the operation of the farm. If one person lets the others down, the whole effort suffers. Is there a risk? Unquestionably.

And the raykom first secretary understood this. He also knew that the fate of the initiative might depend on his words and his attitude towards the experiment. He had himself seen situations in which another party leader, faced with the need to definitely say either "yes" or "no," with supporting or rejecting an initiative, had taken an undecided position, evading the question.

V. Tsalpan enjoys direct relations with administrators. If he senses something false or far-fetched about an initiative, he always says something. But if he is convinced an innovation is useful, he not only supports it, but also keeps track of it to ensure that what is begun is carried to completion.

The Chudovskiy Raykom bureau soon approved the initiative of "Tregubovo" stockraisers. At the insistence of the first secretary, specialists from the rayon link helped farm workers set up the system better, eliminate shortcomings and anticipate mistakes.

Now all that is behind us. Central farm stockraisers have proven in practice the high effectiveness of the link system, of two-shift work. Each skilled worker obtains 150 tons of milk a year here, approximately three times the oblast average. In this regard, the rural resident has obtained a norm working day, which is especially attractive to young people. This system is presently being used successfully on other rayon farms as well.

You have to wonder why this Tregubovo initiative turned out so successfully. First, because it was dictated by life itself. Second, because much organizational work was done on it.

This is the task every party committee must set itself: be able to select, from among numerous initiatives, what is most valuable, to create conditions beneficial to extensively disseminating the experience. Unfortunately, not all party committees in Novgorodskaya Oblast are yet coping with this task.

An example. Several years ago, farmers of "Trubichino" sovkhoz in Novgorodskiy Rayon began competing for high field cultivation quality. The party raykom called on farmers to follow this good example. Much was said about the usefulness of this initiative at bureau meetings and plenums. But the initiative was not disseminated. Why? Because its success could only have been ensured by laborious organizational work in every collective. And people did not have the patience for that.

At the same time, the Novgorodskiy Raykom wasted quite a bit of effort organizing "seasonal" initiatives. And it was not the only one. Each year, many oblast party committees approve "initiatives" of collectives which have decided, for example, to conduct sowing or harvesting work "on schedule," to sow all seed (as if that were not part of their obligations), to repair equipment ahead of schedule.... After receiving by telephone instructions to support a routine initiative, a sovkhoz director I know admitted: "I don't understand why sowers and plows absolutely must be readied by 1 January. Haste is a poor helper."

And how are some of these fruitless initiatives born? Somebody calls a farm leader from the raykom, let's say, and says, "You seem to be staying in the background; it's time you went out to the people. Take on some obligations. We'll support you." And the wheels start turning....

Such ill-conceived initiatives organized "from above" are by no means always supported in the collectives or, most important, in people's hearts. But there are administrators who will take on any new project without a second thought, just to create some commotion around themselves. And party committees sometimes do not judge such things on the basis of the end result, but in terms of efficiency in responding to an order.

Given such "regulation" of initiative, such enthusiasm for "barren-flower" innovations, we often overlook truly valuable experience or do not notice it. And it happens that even when we collide with a good beginning, the innovators are silenced: don't create "spontaneous action," they're told.

This year, at the suggestion of the Borovichi gorkom bureau, Kolkhoz imeni Lenin chairman N. Ivanov was dismissed from that post. That decision was unexpected by many. Nikolay Fedorovich was a well-known leader. People came from throughout the oblast to copy the experience of this leading farm. Then, suddenly....

"You must understand, Ivanov was always running off somewhere," says Borovichi gorkom First Secretary A. Kartsev. "We warned him, punished him, but he kept it up."

The last conflict again flared up because of an experiment the kolkhoz decided on. A new form of labor organization was introduced at the Berezitskiy dairy complex. The basis of it was the experience of that same "Tregubovo" sovkhoz, but they went further, decreasing the number of operators further.

As sometimes happens, someone at the kolkhoz initially didn't like the innovation. A. Kartsev took their side when he came to the farm, and without reservations. Without listening to the arguments of the specialists and stockraisers, he accused Ivanov of "arbitrariness" and instructed him to stop the experiment. But the chairman stood his ground.

Ivanov was summoned to the gorkom for a routine dressing down and was accused of being "infatuated" with experiments. The rayon leaders we were able to talk with in Borovichi pretended that none of the initiatives by this chairman meant anything. But what were the facts? During the first four years of the current five-year plan, Kolkhoz imeni Lenin milk sales increased 59 percent as compared with the same period in the preceding five-year plan, while rayon milk sales increased only seven percent. The meat sales indicator on the farm was stable, while it dropped for the rayon as a whole.

At the same time, the value of the chairman's idea which ignited the spark is obvious today. That is hard to ignore. Operator M. Gromova, for example, noted the great advantages of the system introduced at the Berezitskiy complex when she spoke at a party meeting. True, there was some roughness as well, and understandably so: it was a period of coming into being. A. Kartsev was evidently right in focusing attention on the innovation's shortcomings. At that time, the cry "don't you dare" was being replaced by the necessity of thinking about an important problem jointly, without impetuosity. Here, though, they decided differently: in the end, an energetic, searching chairman was forced to leave.

The Ivanov story was by no means accidental for those in Borovichi, as was confirmed by the Novgorodskaya obkom plenum convened to discuss the question of Borovichi gorkom work on choosing, placing and educating cadres. As was stated at the plenum, a faulty style of leadership based on administrativism [undemocratic rule from above] had taken root in Borovichi. The response to an independent step by an administrator was often punishment. It was for that reason that many worked sluggishly and did not display initiative.

Incidentally, a number of other rayon oblasts also had less than brilliant agriculture indicators, and their failures stem largely from an inability of effectively lead competition, to actively support new things.

Now, in the pre-congress period, in analysing what has been done or not done during the five-year plan, it is important for each party raykom to draw lessons for the future. Limits on initiative are harmful, just as is an abundance of empty, "for show" initiatives. But the right to initiative should probably signify the right to work better than others. Is that not the sense of the current effort?

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REGIONAL

'GANG OF GEORGIANS' INVOLVED IN LARGE-SCALE SWINDLE, BRIBERY

LD160741 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian for 9 and 10 April 1981 carry on page 4, beneath the headline "In Broad Daylight...", a two-part 3,800-word article by N. Sirotkin, chief of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office investigations unit, and special correspondents A. Komarovskiy and V. Simonov on the activities of a gang of Georgian criminals in the Checheno-Ingushetskaya ASSR who made "about R5 million" over the course of several years out of running a couple of local industry rayon combines as "a private enterprise company." The first part of the article, heavily ironical in tone and occasionally incoherent--perhaps a consequence of being distilled from the "80 fat volumes" of material accumulated in the course of several years of investigations--describes how the gang took over the two rundown combines, transformed them into thriving enterprises producing sought-after consumer goods, and creamed off the profits through "sophisticated machinations." The few complaints from suspicious workers, the writers declare, were "smoothed over" by "carefully chosen" investigative commissions.

The second part of the article focuses on the officials, both local and in Moscow, suborned and recruited by the gang in the course of their operations: B. Buzurtanov, Checheno-Ingushetskaya ASSR minister of local industry, who has received a 15-year jail sentence; his deputies V. Asuyev (8 years) and D. Arsenyuk (6 years); A. Makarov, RSFSR deputy minister of local industry (10 years); S. Ibriyev, chief of the Checheno-Ingushetskaya ASSR Council of Ministers Prices Department (9 years); and E. Isupov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry Equipment Administration (4 years). The writers note ruefully that "the search continues" for two of the leading gang members, O. Kvavilashvilli and M. Azarov, while another, "recidivist V. Shengelaya," has "escaped from custody." "Perhaps you have come across them, reader? Look around," they urge. The article concludes with censorious observations on the way that the criminals' neighbors and officials "noticed nothing" despite the ostentatious extravagance of the gang's lifestyle.

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